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Home As the Meeting of Heaven and Earth

by

Ilan Natan Magat ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 1995

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The undersigned certify that they read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, a thesis entitled "Home As the Meeting of Heaven and Earth", submitted by Ilan Natan Magat in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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This study is dedicated to the memory of my parents, Aliza and Mordecai Magat, who gave me the best home as a child,

And to my wife, Jeni Adler, who created the perfect home for me as an adult.

ABSTRACT

This is an exploratory excavation into the various layers and meanings of the concept of Home; a folk concept deeply rooted in human existence and experience. It is a multidisciplinary study, drawing on contributions from Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology and Religious Studies. The author utilizes a variety of research methods - including his own personal experience as an immigrant, interviews with twenty five people regarding their experience of Home, and the analysis of cultural artifacts such as novels, poems, rituals and ceremonies.

The study attempts:

A. To anchor the phenomena of Home in the individual's life cycle. The study demonstrates the multiplicity of ways in which people are attached to places, both during their lifetime and after their death. Here, a distinction is made between the little home, where one resides, and the big Home, where one belongs.

B. To examine the ability and willingness of immigrants to create a new Home in Canada. Here, Israeli and Japanese immigrants were studied. Both Israelis and Japanese come from distinct ethnocentric cultures, where the lines between "us" and "them" are sharply drawn and strictly maintained and were the notion of chosen people and chosen lands prevail. There are, however, significant differences between the two cultures regarding the nature of the Self. Furthermore, the respective historical predicament of the Japanese and the Jews is significantly different.

The results of this research indicate that Israelis and Japanese experience and interpret their lives as immigrants very differently. Israelis refuse, or are unable, to call Canada Home. For them, home is almost always the Big Home. Most Israelis live in what was identified in this study as "Partial Homes". Japanese immigrants are much more accepting of their predicament. They don't fight - they try to adjust.

Further research possibilities, with implications for both national and international conflict resolution, are outlined in the conclusion chapter.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Few weeks ago, I was invited to talk about the topic of "How to Survive Your Thesis" to a crowd of graduate students. The first thing I told them was that I do not think of myself as a survivor. I think of myself as a very lucky man, who has had great time writing his thesis. Unfortunately, however, Thesis and Fun seem to be an impossible combination for most graduate students.

Writing an acknowledgment for a thesis is a bit like preparing a Bar - Mitzva speech- it is very hard to get it just right. But I'll try.

I couldn't have done it without the support, warmth and sheer brilliance of my wife Jeni Adler. The original idea - to study the concept of Home was hers. She provided the best ideas, directions and comments. She more than edited the manuscript- she shaped it. And she gave me a home. I am eternally grateful to her.

Thanks to all the participants in this study.

I would like to thank the members of my supervisory committee, first among them Professor David Young, who suggested the comparison between Israelis and Japanese and introduced me to the field of Psychological Anthropology, as well as to Japanese culture. He is the chief contributor to the theoretical frameworks presented in this study.

Thanks to Professors Wilfred Schmidt, whose depth of knowledge never ceases to impress me, and Michael Gillespie, my supervisor, who introduced me to the work of Robert Lifton, made very useful comments, and suggested the title for the thesis.

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Thanks to Professor Kai Erikson, the external member of the committee. Professor Erikson defines this thesis as an "exuberantly self indulgent effort". I wholeheartedly agree. That is, of course the reason why I have had so much fun.

Thanks to Professor Baha Abu Laban for his support during all these years. It has been a privilege and a pleasure knowing him and working for him.

And thanks to Talia for being herself. I hope this study helps her understand her Abba a bit better.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Recent estimates (Arnold,1990) put the number of international migrants as high as at least one million people a year (not including refugees). People leave a place they once called home and move to another place that they hope someday they will be able to call home. Tuan (1984:3) writes:

> "We all want to be in place, oriented and accepted. The expression 'he is nowhere' captures the bewilderment and pain of placelessness. We want to know our place. We want to know where we are, to be accepted by society for who we are, and to set up home at a particular spot on earth so that we can come to know it intimately"

Malkki (1992:24) notes that "people are chronically mobile and routinely displaced". She also notes (1992:37-38) that although our identities are territorialized "more and more of the world lives in a 'generalized condition of homelessness'. Malkki argues that people are attached to a place even when they do not physically live there, and calls for a "new sociology of displacement", a new "nomadology".In this new nomadology, the exploration of Home plays, I believe, a significant role.

Using Turner's terminology (1957; 1981) I perceive Home to be a folk concept, a concept that is a prevalent part of human discourse, and one that can help us identify the order people try to impose on experience in the course of shaping their own behavior. It is a simple yet powerful concept. Simple, and indeed intimate, because almost everyone has some understanding, experience or conception of it. Powerful, because it ties into a wide range of sociological literature, such as migration literature and the theoretical concepts of self and identity.

The concepts of Self and Identity are discussed in detail throughout the study. At this stage, I will just point out that the present study addresses some concerns and suggestions made by Demo (1992), Johnson (1985) and Turner (1981).

Reflecting upon the present state of self concept research Demo (1992) notes that while numerous studies have examined structured dimensions of self-concept, very few have focused on temporal aspects of self -concept, i.e. changes in self concept from one situation to another, from one relationship to another, or from one year or stage in the life course to the next. Demo also notes that "environmental stability plays an important role in self concept stability". (1992:319 emphases added). Demo concludes that "little is known about the social conditions responsible for changes and stability in self-concept" (1992:304).

Demo (1992) argues that the dominant structural conceptualization of self concept and the concomitant "failure to study the dynamic, changing, emerging qualities of self concept" (1992:304) are the products of three related and widespread methodological practices in self concept research:

a. A preoccupation with one- shot measures of self-esteem.

b. An overreliance on samples of adolescents and college students.

c. The tendency to measure self-esteem in detached classroom and experimental situations.

The author argues that in order to capture the dynamic qualities of self-concept it is necessary to obtain repeated measurements and to include naturalistic observations:

> Applying life-span and life course perspectives to the study of self-concept will enable researchers to examine the social pathways and life trajectories that facilitate a stable self concept and the life events and experiences that seem to disrupt self concept (1992:319).

Johnson (1985:81) adds that: "A close look at how people in transition actually conceive themselves should be very relevant" and Turner (1981:2) advocates an exploration of the "Feasibility and merit of incorporating the dimension of authentic and inauthentic self feeling into our formulation of self conception".

Regarding migration literature I argue that while it offers valuable insights into the migrant's predicament, the literature's main shortcoming is its inability to capture- with concepts such as assimilation, acculturation and integration and 'traditional' indices such as citizenship and house ownership (Wong,1972; Fein,1976)- the intricate issues of belonging and attachment involved in migration. The assimilation approach bears the assumption of a 'subtractive' process in the development of immigrants' cultural and personal identity, which neither seem to correspond with a culturally diversified society such as Canada, nor takes into account the variety of adaptive modes that migrants show. It is implied that perfect assimilation equals belonging- an oversimplification, in my view. Three migration models are presented in Appendix #1.

"Home" is used in many "taken for granted" ways by both layman (see Roget,1978; Oxford,1982) and social scientists. It can be a structure, a feeling, a metaphor or a symbol. It is a personal, individual creation (Simmel,1984) and the ultimate manifestation of national autonomy and independence (The Bible; Israeli Declaration of Independence). Home stands for anything from a trailer (Miller and Evko,1985) to a land of origin (Chan,1981; Barrientos et.al,1984; Barrett,1987), to the universe[1]. The card on my desk claims: "My home is in my mother's eyes". C.B.C. radio announced recently that 28 million people call Canada home. There are homeless people in the streets and mobile homes in trailer parks. These various 'homes' are experienced differently, carry different meanings and operate on different levels. "It all depends on what you mean by home" states Hollander (1991:31). I tried to understand what people, particularly migrants, do mean when they talk about 'home'. Current information regarding this issue is fragmented and insufficient, due to a lack of systematic research and organizing theoretical framework.

---

[1] . "Why should I feel lonely?
Is not our planet in the Milky Way?"
(Thoreau)

My study attempts to provide such a framework. It explores the various meanings and layers of home and anchors the phenomenon in the life cycle and lived experience.

The main goal of the study is an exploration of the relationship between culture of origin and the ability or inability of immigrants from that culture to create home outside it. I tried to investigate the interrelationship of the personal to the cultural and national.

I assume that as a result of their predicament, immigrants are in a unique position to provide some insights on this subject. The exploration of the concept of home enables the researcher to capture some of the ambivalence and contradiction in the immigrants' situation.

My research started as a personal quest for understanding my predicament as an immigrant in this country. I think I qualify as a living example to refute the commonly held notion (or myth) that "Home is where the heart is", the idea being that the heart could be only in one place. My heart is in two places at the same time. My immediate family and the place I call home on a daily basis is here, but I would not hesitate to identify Israel as my "true home". My research provided me with a unique opportunity to investigate the relationships between these two homes. It is, in a very real sense, a research of myself and my identity.

In this study, I have taken poetic licence in distinguishing between: "home"-the commonly accepted usage of the term for where one resides, and "Home"-the metaphysical usage of the word to illustrate a much larger concept.

I decided to compare the meaning of home for immigrants from two nations, Israel and Japan. There are interesting similarities and differences between the Jews and the Japanese. As Shillony notes, "both traditions trace the origins of their respective peoples to a divinely inspired migration, and both associate that migration with the concepts of a chosen people and a promised land" (1991:15). Both cultures are highly ethnocentric: the dividing lines between "us" and "them" are clearly drawn and strictly maintained (Shilloni,1991; Ben Dassen,1972; Shunzo,1975). Both Shinto and Judaism are national religions and in both cultures there are strong interrelationships between religion and geography.

One important difference between the two nations is that while Japan has been a nation state without a Diaspora, the Jews (until fairly recently) were a diaspora without a state. Japanese (as a general rule) do not leave, Jews (and Israelis, at least psychologically, and also as a general rule) always mean to return[2]. I wanted to study how those cultural similarities and differences are related to the phenomenon of home.

In the course of the research I 'gravitated' toward the Israeli experience. I have first hand experience and speak the language of this culture and I have a much better understanding of it than of Japanese culture. Eleven Israelis participated in this study. Japanese immigrants, however, are also strongly represented, with eight participants. In addition, since home has such wide application for people everywhere, I included in the study seven individuals who are neither Israelis nor Japanese. Their experience illuminates additional aspects of the phenomenon.

---

[2]. Other significant differences between the two cultures, regarding identity and belonging shall be outlined later.

Regarding cross cultural comparisons Johnson (1985:56) argues: "good science of personality and selfhood requires cross-cultural hermeneutics", and (1985:86): "...we can capture our questions more rigorously, with better evidence, in cross- cultural comparisons, than is ever possible in historical retrospect (an inherent component in formulations of personality and selfhood)".

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

In the next section the methodology shall be outlined. Special attention will be given to the issues of phenomenology and qualitative research. The methodology chapter includes an elaborate section describing my personal grappling with the issue of home. This elaboration is an attempt to 'bracket' my experience and at the same time use it to gain additional understanding. The researcher's experience as a research tool is a characteristic of Heuristic Research, a term which will be explained in the methodology section.

Chapter Two includes two theoretical frameworks. The first framework was developed in order to present and analyse the findings of individual case studies which follow, and anchors the phenomenon of home in the life cycle of individuals. The second framework anchors the phenomenon of home in various mediums, or contexts.

The case studies include the stories of three immigrants: one man (an Israeli), and two women (a New Zealander and a Japanese). The case studies were selected because they represent various dilemmas and different modes of coping with the task of creating home, identity and belonging and illuminate various aspects of Robert Lifton's concept of Protean Man, which plays a prominent role in my first theoretical framework. The case studies shall be presented and analysed separately at first, and then compared.

The second section of Chapter Two is a 'Cultural Case Study'. Here, the concepts of Roots and Anchors as well as The Center shall be explored. Identification Theory, based on the work of Erik Erikson, shall be introduced. Following is a cultural analysis of Israel as Center and Home. I shall examine the relationships between Israelis' little and big homes and elaborate on various aspects of belonging Israelis develop toward their place of origin. Both individual and cultural case studies were created in order to illuminate the findings and discussion presented in chapter three- the 'heart' of the study, which deals with the ability to create a new home.

Chapter Three, the center of this study, opens with a description of the experience of Leaving Home. It shall be demonstrated how at certain stages of the life course individuals need to leave home, live out of home, or even without a home. In this section I shall also demonstrate how people are able to leave home spiritually, without leaving it physically.

Then, the findings of the research shall be presented. Individual interviews were clustered into groups and positioned on a diagram. The following analysis and comparison of Israelis and Japanese revolves around the concepts of Self and Identity and the different meanings home carries for immigrants from the two cultures. The two groups vary considerably regarding their ability to create a second or new home.

The last section of Chapter Three introduces the story of a couple who had to leave Israel and is experiencing enormous difficulties in letting go. Their story illustrates the concept of "Partial Homes". If a true home implies full grounding and centering (terms to be introduced shortly) and activation of important parts of Self, partial home indicates that only few parts of the self are activated, while other significant parts are absent and mourned.

Chapter Four summarizes key themes and draws some conclusions from the work presented in this thesis. I shall indicate how the findings stand in relation to current issues and debates in two major areas: (1)- Canadian concerns regarding citizenship, immigration policy, multiculturalism and separation; (2)- ethnic and national conflicts around the world. Finally, I outline various options for future research.

METHODOLOGY

The study is an effort to examine the various layers and meanings of a widely used concept- home. It attempts to illuminate central aspects of the phenomenon and to anchor it in the lived experience of migrants.

The study is in the tradition of interpretive sociology and a variety of subjective methods were utilized. It is a phenomenological study (Van Maanen,1988; Morris,1990; Million,1993) with strong elements of heuristic research, as outlined by Moustakas (1988, 1990).

A phenomenological paradigm is an exploration of phenomena as they are lived (Giorgi,1985; Spielberg,1982; Polkinghorn,1983). Such study is concerned with the qualitative, or meaning dimension of phenomena. It seeks to understand that which presents itself as known but yet simultaneously obscure by virtue of being too well known, too familiar. "The more profound areas of our commonplace knowledge are rarely put into words",notes Craib (1985:87).

Husserl (1970, 1973) is credited with introducing the word "lifeworld"to distinguish between the material world and the world we inhabit. The lifeworld, according to Husserl, is a complex totality of the meaningful dimensions of existence constituted by physical, mythical, social, political, aesthetic, mathematical, sexual, historical and ethical properties. In his words, a lifeworld "is the shared experience of a community of conscious beings" (1970:172). Other terms for "lifeworld"(Lebenswelt) are "everydayworld","common sense world" and "world of daily life" (Morris,1977). These are all variant expressions for the intersubjective world that every person in his wide-awake consciousness experiences and participates in during daily life. It is the world that Husserl originally called the world of the 'natural attitude,' which is dominated by our practical interests and the problems at hand. Alfred Schutz conceived of his own investigations as a phenomenology of the natural attitude or the everyday life-world (Morris,1977).

For Schutz, (according to Bernstein,1976:141) the problem of meaning is essentially a "time problem",not in the sense of physical time but rather "internal time consciousness". It is within an individual's duree that the meaning of his experience is constituted for him as he lives through that experience. It should also be noted that different aspects of the taken for granted assumptions will be important at different times depending on one's 'project':for example, whether one deals with a woman as a stranger, a colleague or a lover.

Phenomenology of the life world, then, is concerned with the ways in which people interpret their own actions and those of others within a social context (Bernstein,1976; Morris,1977;Craib,1985;Million,1993). "Forphenomenology"writes Craib (1985:54) "Action also and even primarily refers to internal processes of consciousness, whether they be individual or collective".

For phenomenologists, the very commonplace, common sense, unclarified, taken-for-granted features of the world in which we pass our everyday lives are the subject matter of a science of society. Phenomenology works towards deciphering those structures and themes of meaning which constitute the background of a daily, taken for granted reality. The underlying assumption is that in order to understand what is happening in any social setting or social situation, it is necessary to attempt to arrive at subjective understanding, i.e.,to see the situation from the point of view of those who are being studied rather than imposing the observer's view of what is going on upon the situation. Another term for "subjective understanding" is Verstehen, a German word which simply translated into English means 'to understand', but which in sociology has a much more profound meaning. Verstehen is the phenomenological perspective of the actor\subject.

In this particular study, accounting for the experiential and qualitative dimension of phenomena also presumes that meaning, always and before all else, is a matter of interpretation grounded in a particular historical and cultural context (eg., Geertz,1973, 1979; Heidegger,1967;Taylor,1987;Burch,1989;Rabinow&Sulivan,1987).Consequently,this study also presumes that the study of human experience is not a search for ahistorical truth. Instead, it is a retrospective seeking of knowledge which succeeds (i.e.- has truth value) to the extent that it articulates lived experience and informs, in some way or other, the interpretations which constitute a lifeworld (Heidegger,1968;Grange,1974;Van Maanen, 1990).

Conducting phenomenological research requires the performing of an Epoche, or a "bracketing",or "reduction",these terms being used interchangeably. All taken for granted, unquestioned usages must be put aside in the attempt to perceive what phenomena really mean. One must bracket one's own present attitudes and presuppositions-put them to one side, hold them in abeyance-and, as the first step, try to grasp the meaning of the phenomena as it is lived through by the people involved. This putting aside of common usage is what is meant by "bracketing","phenomenological reduction", "transcendental reduction" or "performingthe epoche"."Meaning"writes Bernstein (1976:147) "Is a certain way of directing one's gaze at an item of one's own experience".One normally lives within the meaning-endowing acts themselves. It is only after one brackets the natural world and attends only to one's conscious experience within the phenomenological reduction that one becomes aware of this process of constitution. Paradoxically, the constant awareness I have of my personal involvement in the subject of my thesis allowed me to bracket more consistently and effectively than if I was operating from a position of false distance.

The research included approaching and involving individuals in telling their stories and discussing what home means for them, in such a way that their reconstructions emerged as the study's primary "data".Experiential descriptions were gathered from a total of 25 individuals. The assumption here is that people as speaking subjects (Merleau- Ponty, 1962) are not just empty signs, created solely by the syntactical and semiological structures of language (Ricoeur, 1974:236-266). Language is not just an object or a structure "but a mediation through which and by means of which writers and speakers are directed toward biographically meaningful reality (Ricoeur, 1974:251). According to Denzin (1989:10) a basic question drives the interpretive project in the human disciplines: how do men and women live and give meaning to their lives?

Writing about culture, Geertz notes (1975:5):

> Believing, with Max Weber,that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take a culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.

Marshall (1989:101) notes that most qualitative studies combine several data collection techniques over the course of the research. In this study, I used interviews, participant observation of interviewees in their home settings, and secondary sources such as newspapers, fictional and non-fictional monographs. My personal experience served as both a filter and a magnifying glass which enhanced my understanding.

This project also incorporates elements of heuristic research. Moustakas (1988:43) maintains that "whereas phenomenology encourages a kind of detachment from the phenomenon being investigated, heuristics emphasizes connectedness and relationship.

> "Heuristic inquiry is a process that begins with a question or problem which the researcher seeks to illuminate or answer. The question is one that has been a personal challenge and puzzlement in the search to understand one's self and the world in which one lives. The heuristic process is autobiographic, yet with virtually every question that matters personally there is also a social and perhaps universal significance" (Moustakas,1990:15).

Heuristic inquiry requires that one be open, receptive and attuned to all facts of one's experience of a phenomenon, allowing comprehension and compassion to mingle and recognizing the place and unity of intellect, emotion and spirit. The heuristic researcher is seeking to understand the wholeness and the unique patterns of experiences. Craig (1978:57) has emphasized that in scientific inquiry the heuristic process moves from whole to part and back to whole again, "fromthe individual to the general and back again...from the feeling to the word and back to the feeling, from the experience to the concept and back to the experience".

Rogers (1969) has summarized the essential qualities of discovery in terms of openness to one's own experiences, trust in one's self-awareness and understanding, an internal locus of evaluation, and a willingness to enter into a process rooted in the self. Preliminary awareness of one's own knowledge and experience of a critical life issue, challenge, or problem enables one to begin a study of the problem or concern. As the inquiry expands, such self knowledge enables one to develop the ability and skill to understand the problem more fully and ultimately to deepen understanding through the eyes and voices of others. Maslow (1966:45-46) has emphasized that "there is no substitute for experience. All the other paraphernalia of communication and of knowledge- words, labels, concepts, symbols and theories- all are useful only because people already knew them experientially". Heuristic processes, then, always relate back to the internal frame of reference (Moustakas,1990).[5]

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PROCEDURE

The doing of phenomenology is described in the literature as a "living process" (Van Maanen,1990; Polyzoi,1982; Rowles,1978; Relph,1984). This "living process" implies flexibility. And indeed, my research did "unfold, cascade, roll and emerge" (Marshall,1989:78).

Moustakas (1990) identifies six phases in the conduct of heuristic research. Those phases comprise the basic research design. They are: the initial engagement, immersion in the topic and question, incubation, illumination, explication and culmination of the research in a creative synthesis.

All six phases were incorporated in this study. They were not, however, distinct and separate stages and did not follow each other in an orderly fashion. It is perhaps more appropriate to refer to a shift in emphasis during the research process than a transition from stage to stage. Emphasis indeed changed, but most phases were simultaneously present in the course of each research day. For example, I was always immersed in the issue. Also, there was no extended, or even defined "incubation"period. There was a constant back and forth movement between data collection, my notes, the effort to understand what people are really telling me and (if and) how it is all related.

---

[5]. An explanation of the various heuristic processes which were utilized in the study follows in the analysis section.

In addition, I don't think Moustakas really means that 'illumination' is a well defined stage- he is more than aware that 'Illumination', (I find the word a bit inflated: "organizational frameworks",or "clarifications"are better terms) cannot be summoned. They appear when the time is right. For me, they appeared while I was transcribing, writing, jogging, driving or washing dishes (a highly recommended activity for incubation and illumination). Then, I had to try to retain the content and find something to write it on-usually an old bank statement or a car wash coupon. I ended up with close to five hundred "tzetalach" (Yiddish for pieces of paper or notes), of various sizes, shapes, and colors, in addition to the six hundred pages of transcribed interviews.

The duration of the study has been an exercise in my movement between connection and detachment. I have already indicated my strong personal commitment to and involvement in the issue. My immersion was both an asset and hindrance for the research, for at the beginning of the process my attitude bordered on self-absorption. In other words-I wanted participants to substantiate and validate my own experience. The participants, however, insisted that their ideas of home are different than mine. I realized that if I want to understand anything in addition to my own experience, in other words to create, through this work, something meaningful in which other people can find themselves, I needed to 'bracket' myself. I decided to stop looking for collaborators, for corroboration of my own predicament, to stop imposing myself on the accounts and to start listening. Active listening was the first step in paying respect to the participant's experience.

The interviews, then, contained some leading questions. The participants, however, refused to be led. In other words- when it comes to meaningful questions and issues participants know what they want to convey and insisted I get it right.

EXAMPLES

(from interviews with Japanese women)

Q: Did it make you feel sad (when you realized your children are not Japanese?)

A: No. We made the decision to live here.

Q: How come you don't miss Japan? How can you explain that?

A: Well, I have a home here, with my husband and children.

Q: How can you say your home is here after what they did to the Japanese in the Second World War?.

A: Well, there is not much sense talking about it. We should just work hard and make sure these things don't happen again.

Q: You really mean the only thing you had to sacrifice when you left Japan was that your parents will be sad you changed?

A: Yes.

(From an interview with a Japanese man)

"I feel I miss something by living here. Belonging to a group, a group which is bigger than myself.

Q: You mean the Japanese nation, don't you?

A: No. I mean many small groups.

(From an interview with an Israeli man)

Q: Did it make you sad to realize your son wouldn't go to the same school as you did and won't grow up in the same environment as you?

A: I think it is extremely unimportant and superficial. I am glad my son will have the opportunity to learn ice skating, an opportunity I never had.

Or (by the same participant): "Listen, Ilan, I don't wake up every morning and think about 'where do I belong'. I am not concerned with it. At least not now. I am not like you".

PARTICIPANTS

Phenomenological study is concerned with depth, or the recovering of "successive or multiple layers of meaning" (Van Maanen, 1990:131). A "sample" from this point of view, of six individuals is considered sufficient to allow for a phenomenon to show its essential nature (Giorgi,1985,1989; Seamon,1979)

My research proposal stated that the first step of the research would include fifteen participants- five Israelis, five Japanese and five from "other"groups. I also indicated that if I felt additional interviews are necessary, they would be conducted. I ended up interviewing twenty- five people.

The table below indicates the breakdown of the participants in the research in terms of country of birth, gender, age and duration of stay in Canada.

		AGE	GENDER	DURATION OF STAY IN CANADA	AGE AT TIME OF IMMIGRATION	OCCUPATION
A	1	43	M	22 YEARS	21 YEARS	ENTREPRENEUR
	2	42	M	11 YEARS	31 YEARS	PROFESSOR
	3	35	F	11 YEARS	24 YEARS	ADMINISTRATOR
	4	53	M	23 YEARS	30 YEARS	SMALL BUSINESS OWNER
	5	45	F	23 YEARS	22 YEARS	BANK EMPLOYEE
	6	51	M	N\A (1)		M.D.
	7	47	F	N\A (1)		HOMEMAKER
	8	52	M	29 YEARS	23 YEARS	ENTREPRENEUR
	9	39	M	8 YEARS	30 YEARS	ENTREPRENEUR
	10	42	M	17 YEARS	25 YEARS	ASS. DIRECTOR
	11	51	M	N\A (2)		RESEARCHER
B	1	60	M	26 YEARS	34	RESEARCHER
	2	58	F	26 YEARS	32	PROFESSOR
	3	59	M	26 YEARS	33	ADMINISTRATOR
	4	57	F	25 YEARS	32 YEARS	PROFESSOR
	5	52	M	23 YEARS	29 YEARS	ADMINISTRATOR
	6	52	F	23 YEARS	29 YEARS	ADMINISTRATOR
	7	53	F	30 YEARS	23 YEARS	ARTIST
C	1	42	M	N\A (1)		GARDENER
	2	43	F	N\A (1)		COUNSELLOR
	3	41	F	20 YEARS	21 YEARS	THERAPIST
	4	40	F	8 YEARS	32 YEARS	STUDENT
	5	36	F	5 YEARS	31 YEARS	COUNSELLOR
	6	65	M	30 YEARS	35 YEARS	PROFESSOR
	7	53	M	25 YEARS	28 YEARS	PROFESSOR

A. Israeli Participants
B. Japanese Participants
C. Other Participants

1. CANADIAN BORN
2. NON-IMMIGRANTS (ON WORKING VISA)

INTERVIEWING PROCEDURE

Prior to the 'official' beginning of this research (the interviews), I had personally known four of the Israeli participants, six of the "others"and none of the Japanese. I was referred to the additional participants. The first set of interviews (six or seven) were conducted in no special order. I started with a Japanese woman, continued to interview a Canadian woman, an American man, a Nicaraguan woman, an El- Salvadorian woman, a Canadian man, an Israeli man and so on. After the first set I realized I was carried away by the process and had many participants from the "others" groups, and not as many Japanese and Israelis as I wanted. So I conducted a second round (it was not unexpected) in order to cover more 'angles' of the phenomena.

The participants were interviewed separately. Some of the interviews were conducted in university, some in the participants' homes, and four at their workplace. All the participants knew ahead what the interview was about. I told them I wanted to talk to them about what home means for them.

The interviews varied in length. The longest lasted five hours, the shortest- about an hour and half. Some participants were interviewed more than once- the Canadian woman, for example was interviewed three times. At times, the encounter was a structured interview (I asked, they answered), at times an in-depth interview ("a conversation with a purpose": Kahn & Cannell, 1957:149), and at times an almost uninterrupted monologue. However, I always used guidelines, and covered all the main issues and themes with each participant. In the course of the conversations I focused on the following themes:

1. Life in the country of origin

2. The move to Canada

3. Life in Canada

4. Home

For elaboration see Appendix #2.

The interviews with the Israeli participants were conducted in Hebrew, and with the non-Israeli participants in English. I believe that it is important to get as deep (in other words- be able to grasp as many layers of meaning) as possible. The knowledge of Hebrew enabled me to do so with one group of participants, and it didn't make sense to give it up.

I knew from the outset that some of the participants who belong to the "other"group (other than Israelis or Japanese) had 'an issue' with home and belonging. In fact, some participants indeed volunteered to participate in the study. The Canadian woman, for example, told me (before the interviews) that although she had been living in Alberta for more than twenty years she feels she is in exile. The Nicaraguan woman told me that she feels like "nowherewoman".My wife told me about an acquaintance of hers who experiences great difficulty living in Canada and who wanted to talk to me about home. These participants, naturally, needed less 'introduction' or encouragement to discuss the topic- they wanted to talk. I found that the people who had 'an issue' with home wanted to hear themselves talking (that is the way they put it). Verbalization consolidated their experience, clarified it and made it meaningful. At times, however,the participants were quite surprised to hear what they were telling me. In any case, telling their stories externalised a pre-conscious, internal dialogue (some of them had been having this dialogue for years). My questions were their tool in making sense of what belonging means for them and how home is anchored in their lives and experience. At the end of the process, the vast majority of the participants reported they had a better understanding of those issues.

All the participants had a chance to review their accounts and make comments after the accounts were transcribed. Some of them were able to 'prepare' for the second or third meeting. However, even if there was only one session, they were always able to get in touch with me. I left them my phone number and urged them to call in case there was any additional information they wanted to add, or a point they wanted to clarify. Some of the participants took the opportunity to do so.

After seven months of interviewing I stopped because I wanted to read the transcribed accounts together and decide if I had enough material. I did not exclude the possibility of more interviewing. I found, however, it was not necessary.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The interviews were transcribed verbatim. The English interviews were typed into the computer, the Hebrew ones were handwritten. The transcriptions were read once after the completion of the interviewing process, and several times during the writing period.

As mentioned there was a constant movement between the 'field' and the notes (this is one aspect of 'immersion'). The notes were, at various stages moved to the computer, and then organized into various themes (Childhood home, Leaving home, Creation of home etc).

Before I started writing I read the various 'files', which consisted of everything I knew about the particular theme, or issue, i.e., excerpts from the interviews, my notes and secondary material. Than I wrote. After I had finished writing, I re-read the relevant files and filled in the gaps.

An illustration of the way the interviews were analysed is provided in the following chapter where the case studies are introduced. Extensive quotes from the interviews are followed by my analysis. From the accounts of the other participants (other than the three case studies) I have included only those quotes chosen to illuminate a particular theme (how did this participant describe his\her childhood home, reasons for emigration, what does s\he miss, what does s\he feel toward his\her current place of residence, etc). The interview with Moira is attached in appendix #3.

Moustakas (1990) identifies several concepts which characterize heuristic research. Here, I shall review those utilized in the study, particularly in the analysis stage.

SELF DIALOGUE

> "Allowing the phenomenon to speak directly to one's own experience, to be questioned by it. In this way, one is able to encounter and examine it, to engage in a rhythmic flow with it-back and forth, again and again-until one has uncovered its multiple meanings" (Muoustakas,1990:16).

Self dialogue enables one to depict the experience in its many aspects or foldings into core themes and essences. According to Moustakas, self dialogue is the critical beginning; the recognition that if one is going to be able to discover the constituents and qualities that make up an experience, one must begin with oneself. One's own self- discoveries, awareness, and understandings are the initial steps of the process.

In self-dialogue one faces oneself and must be honest with oneself and one's experience relevant to the question or problem. Douglas and Moustakas (1985:50) write: "At the heart of heuristics lies an emphasis on disclosing the self as a way of facilitating disclosure from others-a response to the tacit dimension within oneself sparks a similar call from others".

FOCUSING

Focusing is an inner attention, a staying with, a sustained process of systematically contacting the more central meanings of an experience. Focusing enables one to make contact with necessary awareness and insights into one's experiences. Douglas and Moustakas (1988:51) conclude that the focusing process enables the researcher to identify qualities of an experience that have remained out of conscious reach primarily because the individual has not paused long enough to examine his or her experience of the phenomenon.

CULTURAL ANALYSIS

As noted, the main goal of the study is an exploration of the relationship between culture of origin and the ability or inability of immigrants from that culture to create home outside it. In other words, the study attempts to trace the relationship between informants' attitudes, modes of behavior and conceptions of Home and their culture of origin. I therefore incorporated, in addition to the phenomenological accounts and personal input, an elaborate cultural analysis of Israel. The cultural analysis is based not on interviews with informants, but rather on cultural artifacts such as books, newspaper articles, films, ceremonies and rituals. The review of Japanese culture is noticeably shorter, and is based principally on scholarly work. "Culture"writes Swidler (1986:273):

> Consists of symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories, and rituals of daily life. These symbolic forms are the means through which social processes of sharing modes of behavior and outlook with a community take place.

Swidler offers an image of culture as a "tool kit" of symbols, stories, rituals and world views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems. She indicates that we invoke culture in three instances (p.277-278):

1. To explain continuities in action in the face of structural changes. "Immigrants, for example, are said to act in culturally determined ways when they preserve traditional habits in new circumstances".
2. To explain why different groups behave differently in the same structural situation.
3. We make the assumption that culture accounts for any observed continuities in the way life of particular groups.

"VIVIDNESS, ACCURACY, RICHNESS AND ELEGANCE"

A phenomenological study is not directed toward the discovery of predictive or absolute knowledge. Massing (1991) in her study Women Speaking Up, outlines the successful outcomes of interpretive work as follows:

> The text which is produced in the course of research will reflect understanding if it conveys the essence of the phenomenon in a perceptive and compelling way, and the work will be useful to the extent that it provokes thoughtfulness and sensitivity to the phenomenon in question (p.49).

Morris (1977:8) argues that phenomenological study requires "the ability to play the role of the other, to use imagination, feeling and all the artistic capacity (one) possesses...". More specifically, Polkinghorne (1983:56-57) suggests the following four criteria be applied to the outcome of interpretive work: "vividness, accuracy, richness and elegance". Vividness and accuracy speak to the integrity of the work. For example, are the thematic findings believable? Does the text enable the reader to participate imaginatively in the participants' experience of home? Does the text engage the reader in thoughtful reflection on his own participation in the lifeworld?

Richness and elegance, on the other hand speak to the ease with which the text draws the reader deeply into the phenomena. Does the text move the reader in simple, yet deepening circles of understanding? My goal was to produce a text which follows these guidelines.

An essential theme of this work is belonging. And since the project is a direct result of my personal experience and an attempt to address some personal questions and concerns, it is proper, I believe, to elaborate on what home and belonging mean to me.

In the Summer of 1986 I accepted an offer to come to Western Canada to work with Jewish students for a four months period. I knew that Leonard Cohen was a Canadian, but that was pretty much it. I didn't know anything about the West, but I remember that the name "Saskatoon"had a mysterious and tempting flavour. I had never even heard of Wayne Gretzky.

So I asked an Israeli friend, who was born in Canada, for a quick run-down.

"Thereare two basic facts you should keep in mind when you go to Western Canada" the friend summarized: "First- you want to be posted in Vancouver.Second- keep away from Edmonton. Nothing good can happen there".

When I told my boss, the newspaper editor, I was taking a four months leave he suggested I might as well take my benefits package, for, as he put it "That'sit. You'll find a Canadian woman, get married and stay there. You're not coming back. Everyone does that".

"I am not everyone".

"That's what you think"

I knew that he was wrong. It is not possible to convey the sense of assuredness and confidence I had when I insisted I was not going to stay in Canada.

Last week we went for a drive in the country. My wife and daughter were in the back seat. Approaching Edmonton from the East I saw the city skyline and thought, for the ten thousandth time of what my friend told me about Western Canada and how accurate my editor's predictions were.

I felt good. I was comfortable. I felt lucky to have a wonderful family. The environment was familiar and friendly and I was on my way to a house where I had been living with my family for two years.

But I did not feel this was my home. I felt a bit out of place. As if some kind of a mistake had been made.

"Mistake"is too harsh- 'A twist' is more appropriate. As if I am not supposed to be here. And although I don't have a clue where exactly I should be, one thing is clear: it should not be outside Israel.

I once read that most people who win large sums of money in the lottery feel lucky, but for the rest of their lives they don't feel at home. They feel a bit "off center" and not fully grounded. The taken for granted continuity between past, present and future had been interrupted and cannot be restored. At times, I feel the same way.

The following account might read like a complaint of a self indulgent child. I realize that, for some, belonging is a luxury item. However,in my relatively worryfree life this issue is unavoidable and seems primary at times.

As long as I knew my stay was only for four months, I was fascinated by how different this place is from Israel. I was charmed by it's otherness. I let myself be seduced by it's possibilities.

I remember the totally new sensation of vastness, the ability to drive for hours in a large American car without falling into the sea or having to turn back. I loved the multiple shades of green and the abundance of water. I loved being able to buy a bottle of Bourbon without taking a second mortgage on my house in order to do so. It was more like acting out some fantasies than real life.

I remember reporting to myself "You are flying over the Rockies". Or standing in Vancouver, before crossing the mountain chain by car for the first time, looking at the road stretching ahead and the wave of excitement and joy. I remember the first snow storm and I vividly remember the first time I realized that the weather could literally kill me.

As long as the time period was clearly defined as "a trip" or "a journey" I had no problem. I did not belong, but no one, including yourself, expects you to belong when you are officially a tourist.

But could I call Edmonton home? I feel something shifts uncomfortably in my body every time I consider this notion. How much of this sensation is due to my socialization ("Jews belong in Israel", "Israel needs me", "I need Israel to be whole") and how much is an essential truth I live (Israel is the only place I can express and fulfill all aspects of myself)? What would it really be like to live in Israel now, devoid of nostalgia and fantasy elements? Would a corresponding feeling of satisfaction answer the intense physiological longing I experience? For how long? I recognize that the creation of home has tendrils reaching deep into the past, present and future- often forming knots that need careful examination if not disentangling.

The main characteristic of belonging, I think, is that it is taken for granted. Taken for granted implies an unquestionable, pre-conscious and non-reflective state.

In the chapters to come, these issues shall be further explored. Here, I shall only mention my difficulties with creating a "taken for granted" world in Canada. Basically, after I realized I was going to stay here for a long time the (almost) same things that attracted and fascinated me at the beginning became signifiers of non- belonging, "being out". This will lead into my later discussion of 'anchors', which are the signifiers of home.

The Canadian lifeworld was always there, but I started filtering, interpreting my experience with this lifeworld differently after it became clear I was not going back (at least for a long while), and as a result the meaning of the items in the lifeworld changed. For example- when I saw the Fall colors for the first time I thought it was one of the most beautiful scenes I had ever seen. When I look at Fall colors now I still think they are beautiful, but I also think "This is the eighth time I've seen this. I am going to experience my ninth Edmonton Winter. I have been away for almost a decade". This is one of the differences between a tourist and a resident. The leaves were always there. The meaning is different, i.e., I interpret my experience or interaction with them differently.

The list below, the list of non-belonging, includes items from the physical, interactional, cultural and national realms. These items, of course, are parts of a whole, a unity which is the lifeworld. Some of the items on the list are anchors which signify for Canadians they are home. For me, these items signify I am out of home.

Physical realm- Snow; Ice; Snow geese; the Minus Sign on the Thermometer; Blue Jays; Shades of Green; Electrical static shocks; Lakes; Rivers; Bridges; The Alberta Sky (Blue and vast and open); the Light (soft); The crying of the loon; Alberta Rose; Back Alleys; Squirrels; the Fall colors; The reflection of the sun of churches on a bright winter day.

Interaction realm- Having to take off my shoes when I enter a house in Winter; Not being able to have a proper argument with my wife because she does not speak Hebrew and I don't think that fast in English; Being corrected by a four year old regarding grammar; Being aware that when I hear the call 'Abba' (Hebrew for Daddy) it could only be my daughter, since I am the only 'Abba' around; Being self-conscious about that fact; Not recognizing the stories and songs my daughter learns at daycare; Explaining to my daughter that I didn't see snow until I was 14 and realizing that her taken for granted lifeworld is radically different from mine and it is an irreversible condition; Being told by an IGA employee: "Really sir, I have no clue what you are talking about", when I wanted to buy Matzot for Passover; Realizing the letters on the Chanuka draidle are different here: In Israel, the four letters are Nun Gimel He' and Pe- standing for Nes Gadol Haya Po- a great miracle happened Here. Outside Israel the four letters on the draidle are Nun Gimel He and Shin, standing for Nes Gadol Haya Sham- a great miracle happened There.

Language- Not being able to be really creative in English; Not knowing the best place for a word in a sentence; Not knowing exactly how this sentence comes across; Forgetting the English word for "paperclips"; Not understanding headlines or jokes.

Cultural and national level- Hearing about Jim Keegstra; Walking into Coles bookstore and facing a book of Nazi insignia; Reading a teaching evaluation complaining "get a professor who can speak English"; Realizing that in the Canadian Parliament the delegates have a special prayer for the Queen before each session; Being in a room where the Canadian National Anthem is sung.

At times, there is only one level of non-belonging. For example, seeing a squirrel or a snow goose. On certain occasions however, detachment and remoteness are accentuated, since more than one realm, (or level) of non- belonging is present. Two such incidents were the day of my citizenship interview (and the following citizenship ceremony), and the Israeli commemoration and Independence Day which was celebrated in Fantasyland Hotel, West Edmonton Mall. On these occasions, various elements of the lifeworld- from physical anchors to national symbols- combined, accumulated, 'ganged up' to produce a feeling of non-home.

These are my impressions from citizenship day:

"...Representatives of a hamburger chain and a waste management company made speeches; a vehement Judge declared that Canada is our new home, that we elected to be here and that we should all feel very privileged to be Canadians. We went up to the stage, immigrants from Ivory Coast, India, Italy, China and Israel, and pledged allegiance to the Queen of England and to Canada.

I was deeply moved by the experience (almost despite myself), but could not ignore a nagging sense of unease. It might sound too blunt but I felt I was somehow betraying somebody or someone. This feeling peaked during two events: pledging allegiance to the

Queen and the singing of the national anthem. I certainly had great difficulty with the second and third lines ("Our home and native land, true patriot love in all thy sons command")".

One of the main points about receiving citizenship in a foreign country is that one's belonging, at least until that point (the ceremony) had been qualified. One has to pass a test, (receive a certain amount of points or whatever), to prove one is worthy of... And then one is accepted in someone else's home. But home means, I think, unqualified belonging. One doesn't have to try, or to be worthy of.

On the other occasion- the ceremony for Israel's commemoration and independence day- again, various items of the physical lifeworld- starting with the road to the ceremony (English signs, crossing a river), combined with more symbolic aspects (the fact that it was held outside the borders of the state of Israel, the name of the hotel, the feeling that the children who read the 'Yizkor', as well as most of the adults who participated in the ceremony are not Israelis and don't have a clue what it's all about, the fact that the ceremony was conducted in English, the singing of two anthems) created a feeling of extreme irony and dissonance. As shall be explained later, commemoration day is the central pillar in Israeli 'civil religion', the closest thing to a secular holy-day.

What I am trying to convey is that the areas, or the spheres which I can take for granted in Canada are quite limited. I am not immersed. Put differently- the experience of living in a 'seamless totality' does not exist for very long. The seams are quite apparent. I do have, of course, habits- the common 'tools' for making a place for granted, but as I indicated, I am generally too aware of the various counter indications of Edmonton being my home. Of course, not all the items I listed above carry the same significance, nor are they experienced with the same intensity. I am not constantly aware of their existence. I do, at times take them for granted. But when I am aware of them, it creates a division between myself and my world. A newspaper headline which I can't immediately understand such as "Arctic'sPolaris is official fat city" (Globe and Mail, 22.7.94), foreign names such as Flin Flon or Tuktoyaktuk, or a small electric shock from the car door suffice.

I experience my lifeworld in Canada not as taken for granted. Another way to put it- the taken for granted world in Canada can cease being taken for granted (not shattered, but not taken for granted) pretty easily. At times I feel powerless, or severely restricted (I refuse to drive West of West Edmonton Mall in Winter). At times, I have to make an effort to understand. Other times I have a sense of wonder about this place. Or I am self conscious. Whether it is an effort, wonder or self consciousness- there is some form of tension. Tension is not necessarily bad, but I think that life at home should be taken for granted, tensionless. There need be no wonder in living at home. So it is not me in the environment, but me and the environment. And I think one of the main reasons I fail to make Edmonton a part of my taken for granted lifeworld is that I constantly compare it to another lifeworld, which used to be mine but is less taken for granted now.

Lake Louise (or for that matter the prairies, or Hasse Lake) will never be 'mine'. I shall never take these places for granted, no matter how many times I have visited or walked around them. I shall never cease to view myself as a "lucky tourist". A proper way to describe it is in terms of assimilation and accommodation- what one can take in and how the new item fits into one's existing gestalt. Calling Canada mine, or home, does not, at least for the time being, fit in my gestalt. They are un- accommodatable. Some spots, I'm afraid, are already taken, and something too precious will have to give.

One can 'belong' to the here and now in the sense of being immersed in the lifeworld and moment, and one can 'belong' to entities which transcend one's self, like nation and state. I don't feel I 'belong' to Canada on either level. The main, if not the only thing in Canada which is 'mine', to which I belong, is my family. I honestly cannot determine whether I make a special effort to detach myself from the environment, whether it is a basic character flaw, a personal defect, a defence mechanism or a cultural trait. I suspect it to be an unholy alliance and a potent combination of all of the above. I just know that when I am in Israel something opens, and I am able to make better connection, with people and place. This is the meaning of love, I think.

I also realize that I am unable to remove myself from the gestalt which Israel is. It is an either\or, all or nothing situation. An anecdote might clarify this point: an Israeli friend told me she is able to create in Edmonton the feeling she had on the day of atonement in Israel. She said that "attending the synagogue and fasting are enough". This seemed very peculiar. For me, the high holidays are intense sources of alienation, for I constantly compare the daily Edmontonian hustle and bustle to the dead silence and immobility in Israel on that day. I could not understand how anyone who grew up in Israel can ignore, or overcome the differences, which for me are accentuated on that day.

Then, I realized that my friend is an observant Jew. She is an Israeli, but she has this additional element of her Jewishness. It is, therefore, easier for her to create the feeling (not the feeling of being in Israel, but rather the way she experiences the day of atonement), regardless of her environment. She does it through prayer.

In contrast, I am 'just' an Israeli. I have no experience praying and the Jewish element in me is almost non-existent. I realized that unlike my friend I was dependent on the Israeli gestalt, on the environmental anchors to create the feeling. I needed the silence, the immobility, the stasis and the particular surroundings. It had very little to do with religion and almost everything to do with the holiday celebrated in that particular environment. Outside Israel the few anchors (the synagogue, the 'siddur', the festive clothes) seemed very lonely and out of context. In fact, they emphasized distance, not belonging.

In sum- I needed the place to create the feeling. For her, the ritual was sufficient.

I realize there is a constant stubborn undertone in my account. I am, however, in good company. In the course of the study I shall try to explain how I have so many partners-in-angst, why my complaint is not uncharacteristic of Israeli immigrants and why (some of us) are different from other people who left home and are more easily able to take better responsibility for their lives as immigrants.

CHAPTER TWO: CASE STUDIES

A. Individual Case Studies
1. Introduction

The case studies anchor the phenomenon of home in the course of an individual's life and demonstrate the utilization of the organizing framework. Demo (1992:304) notes:

> Applying life-span and life course perspectives to the study of self-concept will enable researchers to examine the social pathways and life trajectories that facilitate a stable self concept and the life events and experiences that seem to disrupt self concept (1992:319).

Case studies are the preferred strategy when the researcher has little control over events and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real life context (Yin,1984:13). Furthermore, a case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events- such as individual life cycles. It also indicates behavior processes and personality types that may be analyzed when a sufficient number of detailed life histories are accumulated for comparative study.

Life stories (Bertaux,1981,1984) are oral, autobiographical narratives, generated through interaction. The narratives are "about one's life, or relevant parts of it" (1984:217). Bertaux argues that the method gives the researcher access to the actor's perspectives: his or her values, definitions of situations, and knowledge of social processes and rules he or she acquired through experience. "It promises to open new fields, especially at the level of symbolic processes, e.g.,life long meaning construction" he writes (1984:233).

Life history methodology emphasizes the value of a person's own story and provides pieces for a "mosaic" or total picture of a concept. Interconnections of apparently unconnected phenomena can be seen (Marshall,1989).

The biographical life history, case study or case history, has been a part of sociology's history since University of Chicago sociologists, under the influence of Park, Thomas, Znaniecki, Burgess, Blumer and Hughes were trained in the qualitative, interpretive, interactionist approach to human group life (Becker,1966; Park,1952:202-209; Plummer,1983; Manning,1987:14-18; Adler and Adler,1987:8-20, Van Maanen,1988 4-12; Faris,1967; Blumer,1969:1; Blumer,1984; Carey, 1975). Denzin (1989) notes that the last decade has seen a resurgence of interest in interpretive approaches to the study of culture, biography and human group life. Central to this view has been the argument that societies, cultures and the expressions of human experience can be read as social texts.

In 1959, C. Wright Mills argued (p.6) that the sociological imagination "enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society". He then suggested that "a social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history and of their intersections within a society has not completed its intellectual journey".

And Jean Paul Sartre (1971:9-10) asks:

> What...can we know about man? For a man is never an individual; it would be more fitting to call him a universal singular. Summed up and for this reason universalized by his epoch, he in turn resumes it by reproducing himself in it as singularity. Universal by the singular universality of human history, singular by the universalizing singularity of his projects, he requires simultaneous examination from both ends".

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Troy Bauman, a student in one of my classes (Bauman,1993) wanted to understand what Home and being Canadian meant for his two grandmothers. Both grandmothers were immigrants, both had been living in Canada for decades, raising families on the prairies. The first grandmother, who was born in the Ukraine considers herself "a 100% Canadian". She said:

> "The land I worked; the children I raised; and the community I helped build is what being a Canadian is all about. This country has given me and my family more than we could have ever dreamed. Canada is my home and I love every aspect of it. Ukranian is my birth nationality, but being Canadian is what I associate myself with today".

> The other grandmother, who was born in Germany, said:

> "Even though I have lived in Canada for the past fifty years, raising four children and building a fairly comfortable life from nothing, I do not truly see myself as being a Canadian. I believe my children to be Canadian, because they were born on Canadian soil and baptized with Canadian water. My birthplace was in Germany and I was baptized with water from within German soil. So I believe that I am German. The culture, history and language of Germany still runs through my veins".

Home is a complex construct. Its meaning varies from person to person and, within the same person, over the life course. Moreover, it also varies across different frames of reference, and the degree of coherence of the concept also varies across persons. Home is much more than a mere place of residence. There is the little home, the base for daily activities, and THE BIG HOME, where one BELONGS, the place of ultimate return. Home is not just where one wants to live- home is also a place where one wishes to die and be buried. In order to understand a person's concept of home, one has to 'stack' all the layers of meaning, which exist simultaneously, and to examine the whole gestalt, the entire configuration. As a result one might find that phenomena, statements and attitudes which seem at first glance contradictory, simply operate on different levels. For example, most people want a place to call home, but they don't necessarily want to live at home. For example, there are indications that home protects us from death anxiety[1], but home is also frequently associated with the place we choose to die every night (or day) when we go to sleep and where some of us wish to be buried [2]. It all depends on the focal challenge for that stage- in other words- what is important for us during that period in the life cycle.

The models try to capture and do justice to this intricate, complex and at times contradictory nature of the phenomenon.

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[1]. Yalom, who uses "Death anxiety", "Fear of Death", "Mortal terror" and "Fear of finitude" interchangeably, maintains (1980:29-41) that "Death is a primordial source of anxiety...the terror of death is ubiquitous and of such magnitude that a considerable portion of one's life energy is consumed in the denial of death". Philosophers speak of the awareness of the "fragility of being" (Jaspers), of dread of "non-being" (Kierkegaard), of the "impossibility of further possibility" (Heidegger), or of ontological anxiety (Tillich).

[2]. This is just one instance of what Lifton refers to as the intersection of proximate and ultimate concerns (see shortly)- the proximate concern being rest, relaxation and rejuvenation, and the ultimate (as shall be argued) symbolic immortality.

The components of the first model (presented in Figure #1 on page 50a) are adopted from the work of Erik Erikson and Robert Lifton [3].

At each developmental stage, as the individual attempts to solve life dilemmas associated with self and identity, one moves back and forth along various continuums. On one side of the continuums, one might experience Separation, Disintegration and Stasis, and on the other side Centering, Grounding and Intra-Psychic movement and development.

MODEL #1: THE MEANINGS AND IMPLICATIONS OF HOME IN THE LIFE CYCLE

KEY:

RED- Characteristics of the stage in terms of Lifton's life dilemmas.

BLACK- Focal challenges, derived from Erikson's work (issues of self, identity and autonomy in various developmental stages), Lifton (centering, grounding and symbolic immortality) and others (Maslow, Becker and Heidegger to name few).

The model is constructed of two axes, Syncronic and Diachronic. The Diachronic axis is historical- biographical in nature. The Syncronic axis is a psychological continuum.

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[3] . Erik Erikson belongs, with Karen Horney, Harry Stack Sullivan, Eric Fromm, Heinz Hartmann, and Lawrence Kubie to the so-called neo- Freudian, school, stream or tradition. The new- Freudian movement, as a whole, is characterized by 1. a greater stress on the environmental or social (as opposed to internal or dynamic) determinants of behavior; 2. a greater and more independent role of the ego in the psychodynamics of the organism and active investigation of infant and child behavior.

Robert Jay Lifton is a student of Erikson, who worked with survivors of Hiroshima. Lifton's domains are death and continuity. He stresses the symbolizing process involving continuous creation and transformation of psychic structures (images and forms) on behalf of the many sided life (and in response to the threatened or anticipated death) of the self. His work attempts to demonstrate how the fear of death has permeated the fabric of social structure.

THE DIACHRONIC AXIS

The Diachronic axis addresses the passage of time and refers to the life course, life cycle or life stages. The categories, (or themes, or foci) presented on this axis emerged during the research process, and can be regarded as various "stops"(or central themes) in the life journey the interviewees described when they spoke about home.

THE SYNCHRONIC AXIS

The underlying assumptions on which the psychological continuum is based, are adopted from the work of developmental psychologists such as Freud (1959), Maslow (1970, 1973) and Erikson (1956,1959,1963,1975).For each stage in the diachronic axis (in other words-with the passage of time), there is a focal challenge which has to be met on the synchronic level. Put differently- although there are multiple levels of challenge, one will come to the fore at every stage. For example, issues of security and safety are present in the mind of the adolescent but the focus in this developmental stage is on independence and assertion of self. In the same way, issues of independence are present in the mind of people in a nursing home, but the focus at that stage, as far as home and place are concerned (Erikson,1963) is on building bridges.

In addition, the ability to cope successfully with new challenges is related to the quality of resolution of challenges in previous stages. Inability to solve the problems, or meet the challenges of a certain stage has implications for the future stages. Each previous stage leaves a 'residue' and is present in the personality. Nothing, then, is erased-everything is added. Failure to develop a secure self in childhood will probably result in a preoccupation with issues of security and safety (physical and psychological) for the rest of the life course. It will no doubt affect one's ability to create a home, as well as the type of home that will be desired. The model is presented in a linear fashion, (i.e., linear advancement and clear termination, almost an 'abandonment' of a previous stage before the next begins) but it is only for presentation purposes. It should be emphasized, however, that these are life long challenges. They do not go away once they are dealt with in a particular life stage (even if it is done satisfactorily). They may change their form but the foci are never completely abandoned. Questions and issues are rarely fully resolved, and might surface (particularly in the context of migration) during later stages of life.

The model incorporates terms adopted from the work of Robert Lifton. The central terms are: Life Dilemmas, Centering and Grounding (1968,1976,1979).The focal challenges (a term central to Erikson's work) can, in the context of this study, be stated and better understood in Lifton's terms (as shall be demonstrated shortly).

Since my introduction to his work, I have felt that Lifton's framework and terms can be instrumental in understanding immigrants' existential predicament and their ability to create home in a new place. Intuitively and naturally when people talk about home, they refer to self, and center, pivotal terms for Lifton. From personal experience, and from conversations with friends and other immigrants, I sense that home transcends the here and now, and encompasses issues of continuity, indeed symbolic immortality, the foci of Lifton's work. The participants in this study provided empirical support for this conviction and illustrated Lifton's framework with colorful and meaningful examples. Without much prodding, they plumbed depths of meaning and experience that I felt privileged to hear about. Their stories describe HOME AS THE MEETING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

THE CONCEPT OF SELF\IDENTITY

Before I introduce Lifton's terms I would like to clarify what I mean by "self" and "identity",two terms which will be used interchangeably in the course of the present study.

The foundations of the concept of identity have a long tradition within sociology. William James (1890), drawing from Descartes, Hume, Locke and Kant, made the distinction between the self as subject (the 'I') and the self as object (the 'Me'). According to James (see Breakwell 1986:7;38) the features of an existence which differentiate one person from the next are: the way he or she thinks about the world (the spiritual self), the possessions he or she has (the material self), the social connections he or she prizes (the social self) and the shell he or she occupies (the bodily self). These are the aspects of the self and they seem to comprise what Allport (1955) called the 'proprium'- "all the regions of our life that we regard as intimately and essentially ours".

Mead (1934), accepting the 'I' and 'Me' as given, saw the self as developing out of its relationship to generalized others. Generalized others consisted of an individual's apprehensions of those around him. Mead differentiated between the I and the Me by assigning them different operational contexts; Me being prominent in social interchange and I being prominent in individual assertions against a given situation and giving the individual the opportunity to express uniqueness. The Me then, according to Mead, is essentially a social construction sharing a sense of James's social self.

'Identity' begins with the work of Erik Erikson, who studied the processes of ego synthesis in critical moments and under conditions of breakdown. Erikson posited ego identity as a definitive contemporary problem. The concept spread through the human sciences and became a buzz word (Weigert,1983).

Incorporating human nature and social reality, Erikson reformulated Freud's ethos and ego as "group identity" and "ego identity" (Erikson 1946,1956). In "The problem of ego identity" Erikson emphasized ego identity in a social psychological context. Erikson's definition of identity (1956:74) is: "a preconscious sense of psychological well-being; a feeling of being at home in one's body, or knowing where one is going, and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count". Identity in the Eriksonian sense is the core of the individual's personal characteristics, which are, however, culturally and historically grounded. It entails a sense of persistent self sameness and continuity through change in life. Identity is strongly grounded in the past but is also dependent on the future.

TRUE SELF

Turner and Schutte (1981), pursuing a transituational self conception or, in their words "getting at some of the more vital conceptions of self" maintain that the self conception is meaningfully described only when the description indicates relationships and linkages to settings, occasions and others. They argue that the self conception is deeply affective and is inextricably tied to self feeling- an arousal that supplies the critical clues to the self conception [4].

LIFTON'S CONCEPTS OF:

1. LIFE DILEMMAS:

A. CONNECTION VS. SEPARATION: Lifton maintains that the organism evolves from simple movement toward the mother to a nurturing relationship with her, to connection with other people, with groups, ideas, historical forces, etc..."The image of separation" he notes "forms one precursor for the idea of death" (1976:38).

B. INTEGRITY VS. DISINTEGRATION: Lifton argues that the maintenance of integrity (though it never loses its physiological reference), comes to assume primarily ethical-psychological dimensions. These more symbolic dimensions take hold concomitantly with the development of the sense of "self".

C. MOVEMENT VS STASIS: Lifton maintains this axis is the most ignored of the three. The early meaning of movement is the literal, physiological idea of moving the body or a portion of it from one place to another. Later, the meaning of movement takes on symbolic qualities, having to do with development, progress and change. "The absence of movement" Lifton argues "becomes a form of stasis, a deathlike experience..."(1976:38)

2. CENTERING according to Lifton, is the ordering of experience by the self along the various dimensions that must be dealt with at any given moment- temporal, spatial and emotional.

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[4]. The concept of True Self is linked to the idea of authentic and inauthentic self feeling, advanced by existentialist philosophers and diffused among students, mental health workers, intellectuals, artists, and entertainers in the West (see Turner:1981).

Temporal- bringing to bear on an immediate encounter older images and forms in ways that can anticipate future encounters

Spatial- unifying immediate (proximate) exposure of the body and mind with ultimate (immortalizing, abstract or distant) meanings. At any given moment, claims Lifton, the self is simultaneously involved with both proximate and ultimate concerns (he applies this type of analysis even to the most mundane situations such as confrontation with his teenage son, or collegial criticism of his work).

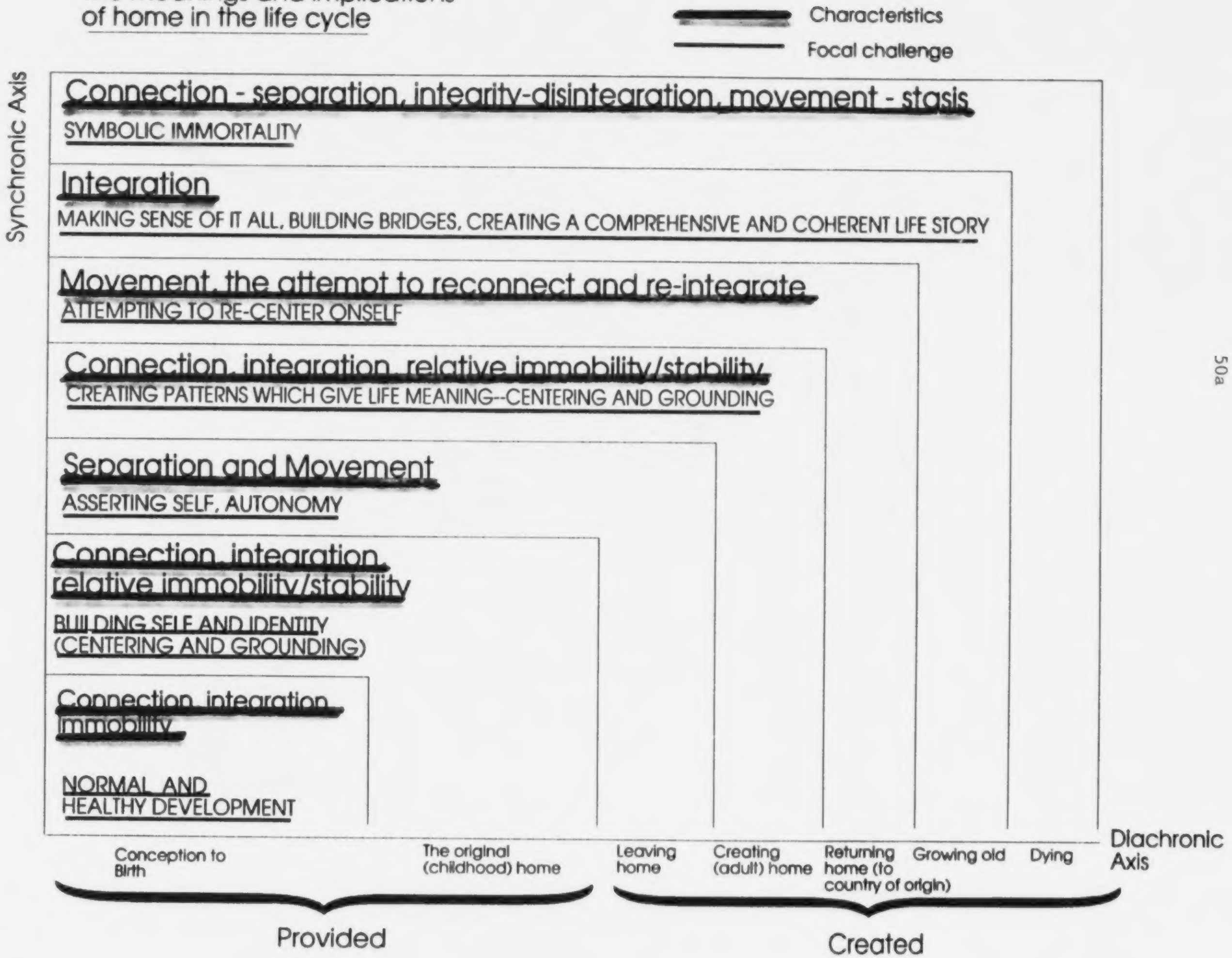
"Emotion" writes Lifton (1979:122) "is the means by which the human mind articulates, gives form to, and energizes the organism on behalf of that which is perceived as most important". In his paradigm this is likely to concern death, play and transcendence, home and place, relationship to society and environment and nurturance and growth. These issues Lifton maintains, "are at the core of our existence, of our struggles and images around life and death" (1979:121).

Centering implies satisfactory reconciliation of immediate and ultimate concerns, i.e., it encompasses past, present and future. Absence of centering is associated with inability to connect new experiences with viable inner forms.

Centering depends upon GROUNDING, which is the relationship of the self to its own history, individual and collective, as to its biology. An important component of any discussion on grounding is the concept of Anchors. These are the signifiers of Home. In the chapter Roots and Anchors I will explore the relevance of Anchors to the participants in this study.

3. SYMBOLIC IMMORTALITY- "Acompelling, life-enhancing imagery binding each individual person to significant groups and events removed from him in place and time. It is the individual's inner perception of his involvement in what we call the historical process" (1979:18). Lifton has described several modes by which man attempts to achieve symbolic immortality. Consider their pervasive cultural implications: 1. the biological mode- living on through one's progeny, through an endless chain of biological attachments; 2. the theological mode- living on in a different, higher plane of existence; 3. the creative mode- living on through one's works, through the enduring impact of one's personal creation or impact on other; 4. the theme of eternal nature- one survives through rejoining the swirling life forces of nature; 5. the experiential transcendence mode- through "losing oneself" in a state so intense that time and death disappear and one lives in the "continuous present".

The meanings and implications of home in the life cycle


Characteristics
Focal challenge
Synchronic Axis
Connection - separation, integrity-disintegration, movement - stasis
SYMBOLIC IMMORTALITY
Integration
MAKING SENSE OF IT ALL, BUILDING BRIDGES, CREATING A COMPREHENSIVE AND COHERENT LIFE STORY
Movement, the attempt to reconnect and re-integrate
ATTEMPTING TO RE-CENTER ONSELF
Connection, integration, relative immobility/stability
CREATING PATTERNS WHICH GIVE LIFE MEANING--CENTERING AND GROUNDING
Separation and Movement
ASSERTING SELF, AUTONOMY
Connection, integration, relative immobility/stability
BUILDING SELF AND IDENTITY (CENTERING AND GROUNDING)
Connection, integration, immobility
NORMAL AND HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT
Conception to Birth
The original (childhood) home
Leaving home
Creating (adult) home
Returning home (to country of origin)
Growing old
Dying
Diachronic Axis
Provided
Created

1. CONCEPTION TO BIRTH

Although this stage is beyond the scope of the present study, Lifton's terms can be used. The stage is characterized by complete connection and total integration, as well as relative immobility (not stasis). Metaphorically, the womb is an IDEAL, or TOTAL Home. (Issues of centering and grounding are taken for granted and are irrelevant in this stage, I believe). It should also be noted that this type of home is totally provided and the situation is not characterized by reciprocal power relations. The focal challenge is to have a normal and healthy development. This task, however, is dependent chiefly on the mother.

From birth, we start the process of separation and leaving home.

2. THE ORIGINAL, CHILDHOOD HOME

The theme of the original home is discussed in this study. It was not, however, the focus of the interviews.

Childhood home means growing up with a family, or significant others, in a neighborhood, surrounded by a particular landscape (Milion,1993). It means becoming a member (and learning to function) in a certain culture (Weber,1963; Swidler,1986), and having the sense of being a national, or a citizen (Bloom,1990; Csepeli,1982). The focal challenge in this stage is to build a secure and well integrated self and identity (Maslow,1970; Erikson,1963). Another challenge is fitting in, or adapting to the home that is provided to us.

The original home is, to a large extent a 'given', 'taken for granted', 'preconscious', and 'natural'. Belonging, as a general rule, is like air. One is surrounded by it, but one doesn't think about it. The original home is much like a name- as far as the child is concerned, there is little personal choice involved. The relationship between the child and home are to some extent dialectical (s\he creates home and home creates him\her), but again, the balance of power lies with the environment.

Childhood home, then, is created, handed, in a way imposed on. Little choice or control is involved. The anchors (Bandler and Grinder,1979,1982;Grinder,1981) we carry all our lives, the 'things' which indicate to us that we are 'at home' are first created then and there. (An elaborate discussion regarding the nature of anchors follows in Chapter Three).

Using Lifton's terms, at the end of the socialization process, one should attain a satisfactory level of connection (to significant others, family, neighborhood, community and also culture and nation) and integration of the above mentioned segments into a cohesive and secure self and identity. In other words, at the end of the socialization process one is centered and grounded in the midst of the various mediums, or spheres outlined in Graph #2 (presented on page 59a). Ideally, the various segments work harmoniously, and no one element will stand in sharp contrast to the others to indicate that the place where one grows up is not home.

3. LEAVING HOME

Leaving home is leaving a center. People might leave because the old home was destroyed and they were forced to leave (as is the case with survivors of natural disasters, (see Erikson,1976). They might migrate to escape persecution (Groupo De Investigadores Latinomericanos,1980) or, as in the case of economic migrants, to improve their lot. Under the best circumstances, they leave home to assert themselves (Erikson,1956,1963; Maslow,1970) and to establish their own identity and autonomy (Bellah:1986). Note that the term existentialism means to ex-ist, to stand out, which in the present context implies that home could become a trap and in order to fully exist one has to separate (see also Million,1993).

The reasons for leaving home (the continuum from forced to choice), as well as the manner it was done (abruptly to gradually), will influence at later stages the kind of home one wants and is able to create and the willingness or desire to 'go back home' (Arnold,1990; Barrett,1987; Barreintos et.al,1984; Berman,1979; Chan,1981; Erikson,1976; Fantino,1980; Fried,1970; Garrison,1989; Kovacs and Kropley,1975; Oz,1982; Siu,1952; Skvorcky,1991; Suh,1980; Zerubavel,1986)

Interestingly, some migrants never decide to leave home (see Siu,1952). In other words, they never committed themselves to leaving, or to not returning. This, of course, will affect their ability to ground and center themselves in the new place.

4. CREATING HOME AND BEING AT HOME- THE ADULT HOME

The creation of an adult Home, a task we all face, is the focus of this study. The challenge here is establishing, or re-establishing, patterns which give life meaning. In the case of migrants, this task involves becoming a part, or incorporating what used to be 'otherness' into one's frame of reference (the essence of belonging).

Using Lifton's terms and themes, there is an attempt at grounding and centering (through connection and integration) and at reconciling proximate and ultimate concerns. This is not an easy task, especially for adult migrants. Some celebrated examples of people who don't live at Home are The Stranger (Simmel,1950), The Marginal Man (Stonequist,1937) and the Sojourner (Siu,1952).

Home at this stage is no longer provided. It is not 'a given', nor taken for granted or pre-conscious. The process of creating Home as an adult is a conscious process (more conscious, at least, than the one involved in the creation of childhood home).

Calling a place Home requires, first and foremost respecting both place and oneself. The process involves commitment and investment of psychic energy and can be viewed as a sort of partnership between Self and place. The process is dialectical-- one creates home, and is created by Home. This means that the migrant has to be able and willing to allow for a change in his\ her self and identity. On the one hand, the migrant is required to let go of the old place- to achieve satisfactory resolution of conflicts and grieving processes attached to the original home (Shneller,1980, Disman,1983). On the other hand, the migrant is required to be open to the new place, accept it, let it in. In a way, the migrant has to surrender to the new place, or at least to his\her predicament as a migrant. As noted, some migrants (including internal migrants) find this task to be too big, scary or confusing, and for various reasons shy away from it. Some migrants are not able to call the new place Home because they are not fully accepted in the new place. Others choose to dissociate themselves purposefully from the new place. These people choose not to ground and center themselves, not to be fully involved in all the realms of their lifeworld. They refuse both to let go and to surrender. In the context of this research I shall try to explain why immigrants from Israel demonstrate a certain attitude toward calling Canada Home, while immigrants from Japan demonstrate a very different approach.

Ideally, when one successfully creates a new Home one feels 'in'. Being 'in' means that there is no separation between one and world. It means that one is involved with his\her own life, that one feels, on the one hand sheltered, oriented, accepted and comfortable in the small home and on the other able to identify with transcendental symbols of the 'host' society (see Gordon,1964). Living at Home means that one lives authentically (Tiryakian,1962), expresses one's 'true self' (Turner,1976), and can be a 'safe hero' (Becker,1973). An expression, or indication of a successful completion of the task (the ability to create Home) is that one wants his\her offspring to grow up in the new place and one can see him\her self getting older there (this is implied by centering). Lastly, one wants to be buried at home.

At the end of Chapter Three, I shall introduce and develop the concept of Partial Home. Some of the participants in this study call Canada "Home",but insist it is not a full, ideal, satisfactory Home in terms of centering and grounding.

5. AN ATTEMPT TO RETURN HOME

"Home",notes Hollander (1991:46), "is the human point of ultimate return"."Home", (even on the computer's keyboard and of course in baseball) means the origin, the beginning and the end.

In the case of unsatisfactory attainment of the patterns outlined in stage no. 4 ("creating and being at Home"), or when the issue of belonging becomes the focal challenge, there is an attempt to return to earlier patterns and feelings that worked in a previous stage in terms of identity and belonging. In other words, an attempt can be made to physically return to the land of origin. As in the previous stage (no. 4) the emphasis here is on movement and an attempt to re-connect and re-integrate to the old, new place. The question and indeed challenge at this stage is: can one re- center and re- ground one's self- can one go home again. The participants in the study indicated considerable difficulties are involved in such a step (See also Aroyan,1989).The 'match' between culture (or the way it was remembered) and self is severed -one, or both, have changed. The central issues of letting go, commitment, investment and sacrifice re-surface, and again, some refuse to make the necessary compromises. The returnees want to 'negotiate' with the old, new place. And in most cases, the place is more resilient and less movable than the individual.

6. GROWING OLD

The challenge at this stage is building bridges (Erikson,1963; Lifton,1976,1979). Issues of integration on a larger scale come to the fore, as well as ultimate concerns- issues of life, death and continuity (in Lifton's terms- symbolic immortality). One tries to see, or create in retrospect, a meaningful pattern. Some migrants try to 'compensate' for living out of home most of their adult lives by promising themselves that after retirement they will 'go back home'. Going back seems to close a circle and provides an important link toward the creation of a cohesive life story. In other words, life started and ended at the same place, and what went in- between can be perceived as a journey. If one dies out of home, life may no longer be a meaningful cycle, but a meaningless straight line leading nowhere.

7. DYING- THE FINAL RESTING PLACE, or: DOWN TO THE TOMB, BACK TO THE WOMB.

"I Should Have Called It the Place You Always Come to When You Die", says Mary, the farmers' wife in "The Death of A Hired Man" (Frost,1949). "Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets" (Ecclesiastes 12:5).

At this stage, one is totally connected (to the universe), but totally separated from the lifeworld; totally integrated (with earth), but totally disintegrated in terms of the body. The spirit is free to move, but the body is in complete stasis (see Lifton,1970). Issues of symbolic immortality (Kearl and Rinaldi,1983) are the major concern. If one couldn't live at home, the least one can do is to be asked to be buried there[5].

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[5]. In some villages (for example the Omarakana), the Burial Ground is located at the center of the village (see Levi Strauss:1963).

MODEL#2: HOME IN CONTEXT

The second model (presented in Figure #2 on page 59a) describes the variety of mediums in which the focal challenge occurs.

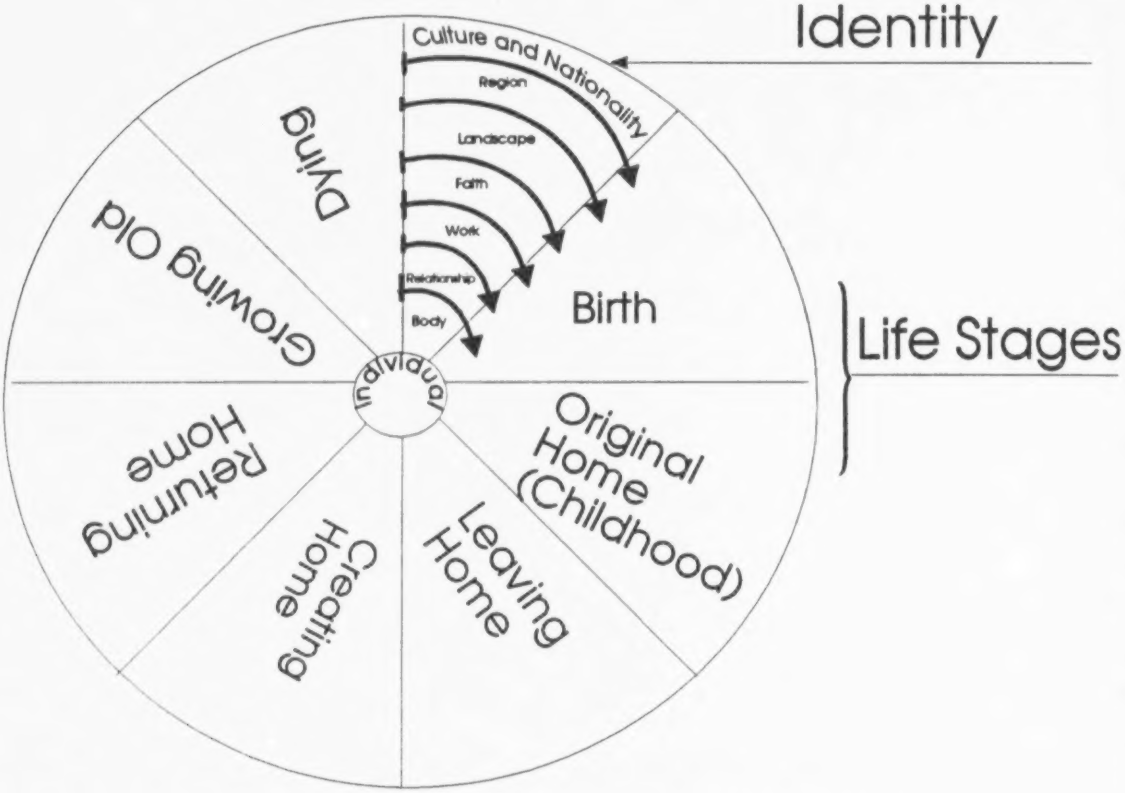
The various contexts, or realms of the lifeworld to which the participants in the study refer to when they describe Home were: their body, the physical context (house), nature (landscape), family or significant others, neighborhood, region, community, workplace, faith, political parties, culture and nationality. In sum, Home encompasses basics such as dwelling (an intimate knowledge of landscape and immediate surrounding) and intricacies such as immortality and transcendence. I liken the context to a set of concentric circles, with the body at the center. The context is where one is at in terms of being at home. The model implies that one can be "at home" at some levels and "not at home" at others. Later, I shall introduce the concept of "Partial Home". At this stage I would like to note that "perfect home" implies an expansion of self and full comfort in all mediums.

The model has kinetic qualities, namely, it might move and adjust itself continually- the relationships between the circles are not fixed.

THE CIRCLES, (OR MEDIUMS), COINCIDE WITH LIFTON'S MODES OF TRANSCENDENCE AND SYMBOLIC IMMORTALITY (FAMILY, FAITH, WORK and NATURE). Lifton (1968a) also argues that revolutions (and, as shall be argued later, nation-states) provide all modes of symbolic immortality.

Immigration, needless to say entails a radical change in context. It interrupts both centering and grounding. In the course of the study I shall demonstrate the different ability of immigrants from Japan and Israel to center and ground themselves in Canada and create home in a new place. As shall be demonstrated, the significance of the mediums varies dramatically from group to group. Some Israelis might feel at home in all the mediums- except the cultural and national medium. However, since for them Home means the national home, the "non home" medium (the national) overrides all the others. As a result, these immigrants interpret their live experience as "not living at home" or "living out of home".

Graph #2 : HOME IN CONTEXT


Identity
Life Stages
Culture and Nationality
Region
Landscape
Faith
Work
Relationship
Body
Individual
Birth
Original Home (Childhood)
Leaving Home
Creating Home
Returning Home
Growing Old
Dying

* This graph illustrates how an individual can be " at home" in various mediums (body, work, etc.) at various life stages. It implies that one can be "at home" at some levels and "not at home" at others.

* Total home implies an expansion of self and full comfort in all mediums.

The following individual stories represent three different attitudes and dilemmas regarding Home, identity and belonging. The three immigrants experience and interpret their lives away from their home countries very differently.

Yoash Medini was selected because he is a blunt example of an immigrant who is accepted by the host country, but adamantly refuses to call any place other than his birthplace Home and chooses to remain an outsider. His refusal is related to the place and culture of origin and to the unique Israeli notion of Home, a notion which will be elaborated on in a following chapter. For Yoash, home is always THE BIG HOME, the outer circle, or dimension in model #2. In his case non belonging on a national level negates the possibility of treating Canada as home. There are many Yoashes in cluster #1 (see chapter three).

The second and third case studies, Moira from New Zealand and Takie from Japan are much less concerned with issues of national belonging and national identity. For the two women, home is the little home, the inner circles, or dimensions, in model #2.

There are, however, some important and revealing differences in Takie and Moira's stories- in their ability to change, in their willingness to be open to a new place and consequently in their perception of home. The differences are partly due to the profound differences in their self-concept. While Moira is individualistic, Takie tends to be self-sacrificing. Moira is actively looking for home; Takie makes herself belong wherever she is.

In Takie's case, her notion of home is also related to the place and culture of origin- Japan (review of Japanese culture to follow). There are many Takies in cluster #3 (see chapter 3).

At the end of the section, Lifton's concept of Protean Man (1968b) shall be introduced. Protean Man's main characteristic is an ability to change, and therefore (I assume) to find Home in more than one place. The three case studies shall be analysed in relation to this concept.

CASE STUDY 1: YOASH

The first association that springs to my mind when describing Yoash Medini is that of a man who owns his own space capsule. His destination is Israel 20 years ago. Yoash would like to go back permanently, although even he admits it might not be the place he remembers.

Yoash is 42 years old. He is married, has two sons (ages 13 and 9) and many friends, most of them Israelis. He is a successful entrepreneur. Ruth Benedict would probably conclude that there is a good match between Yoash's personality and Israeli culture, at least the way Israelis presented themselves twenty years ago: he is open, sometimes blunt, warm, friendly and independent, with no special respect for tradition and authority. Ruth Benedict would say that Yoash might qualify as the quintessential Israeli, the original Sabra. I think Yoash would agree.

Milton Gordon will conclude that Yoash is almost fully assimilated into Canadian society. Yoash will probably say that Gordon is right, but only in a very narrow sense- the sense that is not important to Yoash.

David Byrne (leader of rock band "Talking Heads") was probably thinking about people like Yoash when he wrote:

> "And you may find yourself in a beautiful house, with a beautiful wife, and you may ask yourself: how did I get here?"

Yoash's house is located in an affluent neighborhood and is overlooking a beautiful ravine. Outside a Ford Bronco is parked, a notorious status symbol, but in Yoash's case also a necessary mode of transportation. He uses the car a lot for travelling, camping and other outdoor activities.

In his study, a Bible was open on the table. Yoash, who is not a religious Jew, was preparing for his son's Bar Mitzva, to be held two months later. He said the religious part of the preparation is "a torture" for him, because he has to participate in something he does not believe in. Across from his chair, on the closet, was a red beret, Yoash's parachutist hat from his service in the Israeli army. On his left a computer, in the daytime an assistant in business, and at night a connecting tool to a database which enables him to access all the available information published on Israel in the past 24 hours. Upstairs, by his bed is an expensive short wave radio, connecting him directly to Israeli broadcasting.

Photographs are scattered beside the open bible. The photographs have two themes: the first is Yoash's 1991 visit to Eastern Europe with his parents; the second is himself with his friends in Israel.

All of the above artifacts are meaningful in understanding Yoash's predicament. They illustrate the malignant duality of his existence: his material affluence and spiritual discontent; his longing to be somewhere else; his feeling of being stuck.

YOASH- BRIEF LIFE HISTORY

Both of Yoash's parents were born outside Israel. His father was born in Warsaw, Poland and most of his family was murdered in the concentration camps during the Second World War. Yoash's father was saved as a child by a Polish peasant. One of the main reasons for the above mentioned trip to Poland was the desire to find out if the peasant is still alive and what had happened to him.

Yoash's mother came from Bulgaria. She was lucky enough not to experience the holocaust directly.

In Israel, Yoash's parents both worked as teachers, principally with new immigrants. Yoash grew up in a home that was "non Jewish, but with strong Zionist values". The family constantly moved between new settlements and Yoash happened to be born in a Moshav (a cooperative type of agricultural settlement) called Yashresh. He characterizes his childhood as "Perfect. Full of fun, games, nature and friends". He also remembers a total sense of security.

Yoash identifies Akko, a then (1953) small development town in northern Israel, populated mostly by immigrants, as his first "home"."This is where my first friends were, the friends I remember, and the first games I remember. I don't recall any of the places which preceded Akko".In 1961 the family moved to Jerusalem, where his father attended university.

Eight years after he left for Jerusalem, Yoash took a bike and went back to Akko. As he was approaching the place, he realized he was crying, almost uncontrollably. "This is how I knew it was home".

Q: Were you able to create the same feeling of home when you returned?

A: No. I realized that Akko is finished. I mean, this part of my life, in terms of home, is finished. Everything looked so different. The yard, which seemed so huge did not look the same, it was tiny. The enormous pipe that I used to drink from was my size now. I wanted to enter the apartment, so I stood in the stairway, looking around. They built a whole new balcony there- the neighbor upstairs built and the neighbor downstairs built, and suddenly everything changed. It was not the same anymore. And there was no one I recognized. Most of the people I knew do not even live in Israel anymore. Nevertheless the visit was special. I remember how excited I was to go back there, to come back to this house.

Q: Did Jerusalem become your home?

A: We lived in Jerusalem, but I never felt totally comfortable there. The people are too stuffy. We still have an apartment in Jerusalem, and we are never going to sell it. As an accountant, I can tell you this is not for economical reasons, but for reasons you might call spiritual, and come to think of it, quite practical as well. My father insisted one does not sell a house in Israel. One day you might have to run and it is good to know you have a place to run to. It's the holocaust thing.

Yoash has been living away from his parents' home since he was sixteen. He attended a boarding school in Sde Bocker, a small Kibbutz in the Israeli Negev desert. Sde Bocker was a retirement place and burial site for Israel's founder and first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion.

Yoash's parents left Israel in 1970. His father accepted an offer to become the principal of "Talmud Torah", a Jewish school in Montreal. When they left Yoash was still serving in the Israeli army. He joined his parents in 1974.

Q: Did you ever see yourself living outside Israel?

A: Never in my life, never in my life. For me, someone who leaves Israel is a traitor. This is the education I received. And this is the way I used to think. At least for a long while.

He enrolled in a Canadian university, got married, finished his degree and in 1982 moved to Edmonton. As mentioned, he is a successful accountant. At the time of our conversation, he was in the process of closing down most of his offices around town, working mainly in Edmonton's west end and in the Arctic Circle (Igloolik, Yellowknife) where he is flown in regularly by businesses in need of his services.

I shall now elaborate on the important themes (regarding home and place) that were discussed with Yoash during our conversation.

A. PRESENT HOME. HOME AND LIFE IN CANADA

"One day" he says "I realized that I have no home anywhere in Israel. I mean, I don't have a family I can come to or return to, and say...I am going...when I go to Israel, my family are my friends. That's it. They are my family.

Q: So where is your home now?

A: My home is where my mother is. She lives in Montreal now. This is home. Yes. Even today, I think that even here, even in this house, I feel that when I go home, to my mother... this is home. My father was very important, but he was a quiet person. My mother is noisy, open and loud. In terms of energy I match my mother very well.

Q: What do you get there that you don't get here?

A: What do you get at home, at mom's place that you don't get here? I think it is the undivided attention, this is the first thing, I am the star of the house there, I am her raison d'etre', her reason for living. Why is it home? Listen...Food...From the time I remember myself it was the food. And the care. I think that because we moved so often...you see...I think that the identity of the house, of the home was the mother. Always the mother. This is how we always identified new places- if mom is there it means this place is home.

But Yoash also said: "I have no home. I have dreams of home in the Galilee (the Northern part of Israel), with two or three sheep, where friends will come and eat and drink and sleep whenever they want to. And with a fat bank account in Edmonton".

Q: Are you a Canadian citizen?

A: Yes, I am.

Q: Are you a Canadian?

A: No, no. Never ever...And I don't believe my older son feels Canadian either, although he was born here. I believe he feels Israeli.

Q: Could you describe the day you received your Canadian citizenship?

A: There is nothing to describe, really, I went in, I went out. That's it. I mean, I was bothered by nothing, nothing bothered me, snap, ding, I got the citizenship... It was a practical act, nothing more. There was nothing meaningful or significant in it at all, no special excitement...I have a strong pragmatic side...I went and that's it. In fact, I chose to be sworn on the New Testament, not the bible.

Q: What do you feel toward the place where you live now?

A: Here? nothing, nothing at all. This place, here, does not do anything for me. It is immaterial, non-consequential (he uses the term 'lo meziz li', does not move me, I don't care about it). This house could burn down to ashes tomorrow. In fact, I might be the one to burn it down, it wouldn't affect me in any way. I simply don't have any emotional attachment to this house. You can ask my wife- I don't mow the lawn here. I pay someone to do that. I don't take care of the house. My wife always complains about me being so disinterested in this place. This is not my house (the fact I call it home does not mean it is home), it is a house and I live here, and it was good business for me to buy this house, but I wouldn't move a finger around here. I am not interested in anything. The neighbor across the street is nice, and I know all the neighbors around and I say hello to everyone, and I go out and come back and walk around and bring stuff...and the kids... for football, and my dog and the neighbors dog are friends and 'Hi Yoash' and everything, but I don't... I am not (emphasizes), I don't have anything...I don't feel any connection to these people, no one comes in to my home for a cup of coffee, and it is not because they don't invite me- they do, all the time, I can go, but no...I talk to them from the outside (externally). What bothers me and what interests me will not interest them at all.

"My wife is in charge of keeping and maintaining the house" he said "And she gave it a very contemporary, cold plastic look. I don't like it. It is very unlike my mother's house, which is warm, full of pictures and books. Sometime ago, after I returned from a trip to Israel, I found out my wife changed the carpets and re- painted the whole place, and she asked me if it is o.k...I said yes, o.k. what do I care...

Q: Are you miserable here?

A: I don't feel completely miserable, but sometime I do feel miserable. I feel I am missing more and more...I feel my life is passing me by...

"Want to hear something? Yesterday was partially cloudy in Jerusalem. I can tell you that because I keep in touch. I sometime...for example I can tell you exactly what happened in independence day parade. When I want to read today's newspaper in Israel, I simply get on the computer and I am connected to compuserve and I immediately read everything that was written about Israel in the media today. Get it? I don't have to read about it in Canadian press. When the missiles fell on Israel (he uses the term "baaretz"-'in the country' and all through the interview he refers to Israel as 'haaretz shelanoo'- our land, our country, not as 'my land') I heard it on the short wave radio, saw it on CNN, and spoke with my grandmother in Bat Yam simultaneously. I think I live my life...I am trying to reach a point where the distance is not a distance. I am on line. I am in touch. There was a storm in Eilat, an Israeli ship crossed the territorial water into Jordan...I knew it before my friends in Eilat knew it. So, as you can see I am not suffering, not at all, my idea is simply to enjoy life and with the help of satellites and computers and modem- I am two minutes away from Israel. No problems. On independence day I was in the air show. Upstairs, I was listening to Israeli radio. I mean, I knew what happened, I was in Israel. I was there. I went to the computer, got print outs of articles of what happened in Israel that day, went upstairs, listened to the short wave radio, great reception, (describing)"...an air base in the south...flying along the sea shore...passing Tel aviv... passing Tiberias... passing Jerusalem... going back to base...parachutists jumping into the water..."and you sit and watch and you dream that you are there...that you are actually seeing it.

Q: You said you never planned on leaving Israel permanently. You claim you are not attached to this place, Edmonton, Canada. How do you look at yourself today, how do you see your life here?

A: As someone who, any minute, yes any minute, might get up and go. That sort of feeling. I will give you an example, this house, when I bought this house, it took me five years until I hung the first picture on the wall. Five years to hang a picture on the wall. It used to drive my wife crazy. It is not the money of course. But for me, to hang a picture on the wall is a sign as if...this is a sign that you are staying here. And the first two pictures I hung on the wall were pictures I bought in Beer-Sheva, one of Jerusalem and the second of the Galilee. And I was disappointed in myself for doing that. I was disappointed in myself. Yes.

When I hung those pictures on the wall. Because when I did that I felt it was more permanent. And if you hang a picture of Israel- it is the epitome of a diaspora jew- it is so diasporical. I can understand a picture of Israel in Israel. This is the beauty of your dream home. It is in the right place. But here? It was as if...Generally I am quite disappointed in myself...That I am here at all. Yes. I have plans that I don't share with anybody, they might be dreams, yes, but I feel I am going in that direction constantly, in the direction of one day simply getting up and going. I mean, this is my idea. One day I simply get up and go. Sometime I say to myself 'when the kids grow up', sometime I say 'in five years', or 'next year'- depends on the weather. But my general feeling is that the next minute I can get up and go. My wife wants another child. She wants a daughter, I know, but another child for me means that I am stuck here another 10 or 20 years. My younger son is already five years old. I mean, if I want to go I go. Simple as that. I get up and go.

Q: What do you mean 'get up and go'. By yourself?

A: Yes. Getting up and going by myself. Leaving the wife, leaving the children. Sometime I say to myself "Yalla (come on) Yoash, get your act together, get some guts, get up and leave. Leave all the nonsense behind you. Your wife will come, what can she do. She can't live without you. And your children will perish if you don't come home. And, I...I will die too if they don't come. So I am half dead here and half dead there.

About his children Yoash says: "I chose to bring them up in a way that will make it easier on them to live in Israel. So I introduced them to all of my friends, and my friends' kids, and they learn Hebrew, and my older son will write his matrics in Hebrew.

I have to provide my children with the sense of neighborhood, I have to be their neighborhood, like the one I had in Israel. I have to provide them with the experiences that made me what I am, that shaped me, and had made my childhood so happy. This is why I take them out all the time, and encourage them to spend more and more time with friends. I want to create little Sparta here…I teach them to be aggressive, this is something I got in Israel, I somehow identify it with home, with Israeliness.

Q: And how will you make a living in Israel?

A: I can make enough money from working one month a year in the Arctic circle. My dream is that instead of dialing the area code 403, the people in Igloolik will dial the area code in the Galilee, I will fly here for a month and the rest of the year live there.

Q: And this seems realistic to you?

A: I really don't know. I know that I live in a constant state of denial. I mean, I see people around me and I realize that there is a route people follow and at the end they do stay here after all. But I was not supposed to be here. It is a mistake. A mistake my parents made and, by the way, they openly admit it. They should not have left Israel. We discussed it a lot at home. But I do believe I shall return. This is my last thought every night, just before I fall asleep, with the short wave radio on right beside my bed and I can hear the traffic report in Herzliya junction. Some day I am going back.

Q: Other than the parachutist's beret and the pictures, is there anything in this house that is "Israel"?

A: Yes, the house is full with shironim (collections of printed Israeli folk songs). If I am a bit mixed up at times- I immediately go back to the roots, to the sources. I sing Israeli songs and it immediately balances me, puts me back on track... it is a sort of coming home...I grab the first shiron, pick up a good song, and I sit and sing to myself all day. All sort of songs. There was a period when I was working for the government and they wanted to fire me because I was singing all the time...a woman, a colleague told me, 'how do you expect us to work with you singing around here all the time'...and I replied, 'what do you expect me to do, to become depressed like you Canadians?

Come to think of it, another thing in the house is Israeli. I mean, the watch I am wearing shows two sets of time. One Canadian and one Israeli. I have been wearing this watch ever since I came here.

B. ISRAEL- HOME OF BIRTH

Q: How often do you visit Israel?

A: Every year. When the intifadah (the Palestinian uprising) started and I saw my country (now he uses the singular form) in flames I strongly felt I had to physically be there. So I went. When there are troubles I feel I have to go, I have to be there. And once I am there, I always try to 'steal' five more minutes. I think subconsciously I am trying to miss the plane.

Q: Does your wife like Israel?

A: No, not very much. She was born in Israel, but grew up in Canada and she does not have an 'Israeli mentality'. She usually doesn't join me in those visits. I ask her to do me a favour and don't come with me to Israel. I think it is because I still want to be the old Yoash of fourteen to eighteen, independent, going out with lots of friends, going to sleep at 2 o'clock in the morning. And I don't need my wife to spoil it for me. I want my independence. I want to do certain things and I don't want her to interrupt. Of course she doesn't like me going to Israel by myself, but for me it has certain advantages- it is my way of telling her 'I am me and you are you'.

Q: Where is your wife's home?

A: I think here, in Edmonton, and in Montreal. This is where her parents and sister are, and this is the place where she wants to live.

Q: What do you do when you visit Israel?

A: I do not come for a holiday. I come to be with my friends. I do the dishes in their homes and the grocery shopping, and I take the kids to school.

Q: Do you physically feel different in Israel?

A: Oh, yes, definitely. I don't sleep, I am full of energy, all I want to do is hike and walk and wander around and never go to sleep. I don't know, there is something about Israel that is Israel and something about Canada that is Canada that is very hard to explain. I feel the air there has more oxygen, somehow there is more air there. I don't know, I am more alive there, I live more fully. I don't know how to say that... I feel ricochets, as if electric particles are bumping off my body. I go to one place and meet a girlfriend from grade 1. Then I meet someone I haven't seen 15 years... I simply enjoy life more. In addition, just think about what it means to be in a particular place, Tiberias for example. Tiberias is Yom Kippur war, and Tiberias for me is the hot springs, and it is a Passover seder we had in one of the hotels, and for me Tiberias is the marathon around the Kinneret, and it is the Golan Heights, and the road to the Kibbutz...you have so much behind you...and I am not even talking about history and the historical sights around Tiberias. I feel it is much easier for me to get connected to the people...I never feel lonely in Israel. I don't feel lonely here either, but I do feel lonely, not because I don't have people to talk to, but because I don't have anything to talk to them about.

I want to contribute more and more to Israel, because I don't pay taxes there. I am very happy with myself, with what I received from our country, with what it gave me - I am very happy with the way I am, with my personality. I feel Israel gave me much more than I gave in return. I would be very happy, for example, to go to and serve in the reserve for a month every year. I tried to arrange it several times, but nothing came out...I am even willing to pay for the right to serve in the reserve and I am willing to do anything...patrol along a fence, shine shoes, work in a canteen, anything, I just want to go into canteen...to eat the military food...to have this feeling again...my friends think I am crazy, they say I came out of a fridge...things are not the same as they were twenty years ago, it is not the same army anymore...but I insist...

ANALYSIS

I shall now analyze the conversation with Yoash in terms of the organizing framework. There are, however, excerpts from the conversation that I see fit to include in this part.

At this stage in his life Yoash does not feel he has a home. At least not a home he wants to live in. He states that his home is where his mother is, but it is apparent that he has no intention of going back to live with her, nor does he feel any affiliation or attachment to Montreal, where she now resides. The family has an apartment in Israel, but Yoash does not consider this apartment to be his home. However, if one of the main components of home is belonging, Yoash's home is Israel, although he has no home in Israel. All he has is the dream of a home in the Galilee.

It is also clear that Yoash does not consider Edmonton his home. This theme, of alienation and non belonging will be elaborated on shortly.

1. CHILDHOOD HOME

Although there was a significant amount of movement in Yoash's childhood, it did not seem to hinder his healthy and normal development. An important fact is that the primary familial relationships remained stable. The family associates home with where the mother is. She is the center. To this day Yoash associates home with his mother and it is clear from his account that he feels a hero in his mother's home. A safe hero. He is a hero just because he is what he is, in this case a son.

The components that create home (referred to in the framework as the context, or the lifeworld) work in relative harmony in Yoash's childhood. At the end of the socialization process he was (metaphorically) located in the center, the midst of a set of concentric cycles which included family, neighborhood, culture and nation. He felt well connected to Israel and integrated into Israeli culture. In terms of identity he felt, and still feels, an Israeli. And in his case, home equates national identity. When I noted that with all his longing for Israel he chose not to marry an Israeli, Yoash replied: "I didn't have to marry an Israeli to know who I am". Of course, very little in the process of connection to a place and acquiring a sense of belonging at this stage involves choice or is conscious. Yoash did not choose to be born in Israel, did not choose to make Akko his first home, etc. His anchors, the elements that signify belonging, such as landscape, food and language, were created in this period and were provided to him by his environment- his family, neighborhood, school or the media. Israel became Yoash's home through interaction with friends and nature trips, but he never stopped and thought about it (only when he was an adolescent he realized, coming back, how much Akko meant to him).

2. LEAVING HOME

Yoash left his parents home when he was sixteen. The way he presents it, he left home because he was an "incredibly bad student" and Sde Bocker was the only institution willing to accept him. There is, however, a strong component of exploration and independence in his personality and leaving home was a part of establishing and asserting his independence.

The home Yoash never left and never decided to leave is Israel. Here, I want to make a distinction between a decision to leave and a decision not to come back. Yoash decided to pursue academic studies and live abroad for an unspecified period of time. This was his reason, his excuse for living outside Israel: "The first seven years" he reports "it was easy to stay here".But he never decided to leave Israel. He feels that those who leave are flawed. He never decided not to come back. This has strong implications for his willingness and ability to create a home outside Israel.

It is interesting to compare Yoash's departure from the homeland with his father's departure from Poland, a place he had to leave abruptly, and had to come back to, with his wife and son, in order to conclude a life journey and to give it meaning. Yoash told me the following story:

"Twoyears ago my father went with Talmud Torah in Montreal to the March Of The Living in Poland. It was not enough for him. It was too short. His experience of Poland was deeper. So he told me he wanted to go once more: "I might be able to find the house of the peasant who hid me during the war" he said, "I might find the house where I grew up, a

trace, a clue, something from the time before the holocaust. So I left from Edmonton, my parents left from Montreal, we met in Amsterdam and went through Austria and Hungary to Poland. We arrived in Poland, Warsaw, that city, where my father was born, and we started looking.

Q: Did you speak the language?

A: No, and neither did my father. It is very interesting, because my father was born in Poland and lived there till he was 12, but the Polish language is totally erased from his memory. Polish is a painful language for my father. We had to hire a translator.

Q: Were you able to find what you were looking for?

A: Well, we managed to find the family of the peasant who hid my father during the war. It was a big relief for my father to realize that this peasant died in 1963 and was not executed right after the war. But other than that we were not very successful. I remember my father looking for the house in which he grew up and lived outside the Ghetto. There is nothing, no house. It was raining, and my father was very tense, and I was running around like a mad man going inside and outside the houses. My father remembered that from his old house he was able to see a waffle factory, but things have of course changed and moved. I remember my father desperately wanting to find something...he was suffering tremendously, I could feel his suffering, you see a person who is trying to hold on to something, anything at all, to say , yes I remember this place, I remember this statue, the statue of Copernicus- but the statue was moved. The original statue was destroyed in the war and this is just a reproduction. And I went into the bank and I tried to deposit money into my grandfather's account. You do things that you wouldn't do anywhere else, at any

other time, only to get some information. You are trying to come home, back to the hotel and say "Dad, I found something". So he might feel better, that there is something, some account. It is not the matter of the money of course, it is just the ability to say 'yes, he had a father, his father did exist'. But there was nothing left. No clue, no trace. Nothing at all. The only thing we were able to find was the name of my grandfather and grandmother on my uncle's marriage certificate. This was the only thing I was able to find. So I brought it to him. And I saw that he was a bit relieved, a bit more calm.

Q: How did you feel during this trip?

A: Well, I was crying most of the time. My father was crying the whole time as well. It was terrible. But it was also one of the most meaningful things I ever did.

Q: Where is your father now?

A: He died six months after this trip.

"I guess that when my father was young he knew how to 'eat' (handle) this thing with the holocaust, how to deal with it. But as he grew older...he used to sit and look at my sister and start crying 'oh, she looks exactly like my mother'".

Q: Was he a religious man?

A: The last time I asked him about God was in Auschwitz. He looked around and said 'there is no God'.

Q: What did Israel mean to your father?

A: It meant a lot. I always thought of my father as an Israeli, a Sabra, since he lived in a kibbutz and served in the underground and all those sort of things. And I remember going with him and his students for a lot of field trips in the desert. But I have to say that for my father living in Israel was not as important as it is for me. He wouldn't have died for Israel. And I sometime feel that I would be willing to die for the country. Like, my father never wanted me to volunteer, but I did anyway.

Q: Where was your father's home?

A: His home was where my mother was. She was everything for him.

Here is an example of forced separation, forced movement and disintegration. Yoash's father had significant unresolved conflicts with his original birth place (as a result of which he 'abolished', or 'extinguished' one of his main anchors- the Polish language), and a strong need to reaffirm past life, to close a cycle, to integrate, to produce the proof of past existence through physical artifacts such as statues, bank accounts and so on. The father's death six months after his return to Poland is symbolic and perhaps not accidental. It is as if Yoash's father gave himself permission to die.

The personal journey of the Medini family is a part of the national pilgrimage of the Israelis in search of their roots. Thousands of Israelis visit Eastern Europe and the death camps every year.

3. CREATING HOME

The focal challenge of building a home as an adult was not met.

Yoash never decided to make Edmonton his home. He never decided to make himself at home here. He refuses to enter the dialectical process, the relationships required to make a new place home. In other words, he never invested himself in this place. He never tried to bridge the two solitudes [1]- himself and his house. By not mowing the lawn he does not make the place home, and because this is not his home he does not mow the lawn. He refuses to ground himself in any soil other than Israel's. Something with roots does not have visions of itself getting up and leaving any minute. He is also unable or unwilling to center himself in the here and now. He does, however, center and ground himself periodically by using two powerful anchors: singing Israeli songs and speaking Hebrew "to people I feel comfortable with".

The songs offer him the connection between his past and his future. His past is in Israel, and he sees his future there. The present is a continuous mistake. This is not the life he was supposed to live. He is not suffering, but he is not fully alive. He is just passing time. He has a family, career and friends, but there is a nagging sense of discomfort and unease. The older he grows the stronger this sense. Life is catching up with Yoash. He says: "I live in a constant state of denial".

He develops little tricks, alienation mechanisms, which help him stay one step removed from life here, keep him from entering a true partnership with the place: on the one hand he refuses to mow the lawn, to hang pictures on the wall or to care about the house (it is his wife's 'responsibility'). In other words his place of residence, the place which is supposed to be his home is far from being a reflection of himself, in fact it is very different from his self. He describes it as 'cold, contemporary and plastic', unlike his mother's 'warm' home (and a place he identifies as home). His first act as a Canadian citizen is one of total dissociation- he is sworn in on the New Testament. And his last act of the day, of every day, is also one of total dissociation- he reminds himself that he does not belong here. He reminds himself he is going back. With his elaborate technological equipment, the short wave radio and the modem he is on line, he is in contact, he is two minutes from Israel, he is working toward an illusion of no distance. But he is stuck. His journey is unfinished and not meaningful. He is not going back because of himself and in spite of himself. He resides here, but he feels that he lives there. I should in fact qualify the last sentence, for Yoash says: "I am half dead here and half dead there". "The absence of movement" writes Robert Lifton "becomes a form of stasis, a deathlike experience". So Yoash has dreams of movement but feelings of stasis. Samuel Beckett captured Yoash's predicament in the last sequence of "Waiting for Godot" (1952)

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[1]. "Two solitudes": a term used to describe two separate, irreconcilable entities (as in Quebec and Canada).

Vladimir: "Shall we go?"

Estragon: "Let's go"

(Stage directions): No one moves.

While in Israel, he was at the center of a multiplicity of concentric circles which included family, culture and nation (this is my partial interpretation of his description of little electric particles 'bouncing' off his body'). Canada offers him much fewer (if any) circles. He does not respect Canada, nor Canadians. He refuses to broaden his family and there is a strong sense that he is trying to create another Israeli (his oldest son), as an alliance against the 'unIsraeliness' of his wife.

The question is why. Why does he choose to behave this way? Why does he choose to present himself in such blunt terms? I think the key to the answer is that he is protecting his self and identity as an Israeli. It is a protection by dissociation. A protection by not giving, by not committing. Being sworn into citizenship on the New Testament and not the Jewish Bible signifies for him that it is not his 'true self' who is participating in the act. It is not really him. Hanging a picture on the wall signifies and is a symbol of home for him. And home for him is identity. Not hanging a picture of Israel on the wall means that although he has been living outside Israel for a decade he has not become yet a 'diaspora Jew'. Refusing to enter into partnership with the place means he does not have to acknowledge, admit and accept a change in his self (although he admits he is disappointed in himself). In his case, separation and movement threaten to create disintegration, which he dreads. Living the way he does enables him to avoid determining who, in terms of self and identity he really is. He does not have to forge a new identity, to create a new gestalt, to reconcile between two (other) solitudes, Israel and Canada. So he keeps them apart, as two solitudes. He does not have to take real responsibility for his life. He can continue thinking of himself as someone in transition, a passerby, a tourist, a sojourner. He does not have to grow up and acknowledge that this is his real life, and it is going to end one day.

He distances himself from the attempts of his wife to make a house a home; he prefers her absence on his trips into his "other life"; he guards his interpretation of his two worlds well, not wanting his significant other to get close enough to introduce another perspective.

4. RETURNING HOME

Yoash is always returning home. He rehearses it relentlessly, by envisioning himself 'getting up and going'. His short wave radio and computer allow him to be in a state of continuous travel. Physically he does it at least once a year.

Israel is his home, not his wife's, and he never seriously attempted to change the situation, and make it a home for her. Israel is like the big fridge where Yoash left himself twenty years ago. Every year he returns to see how the young Yoash is doing. When he is there he feels connected to the place through memories which create depth and meaning (see his description of Tiberias). He is fully alive (at least for a short while, until he starts missing his children). There is more oxygen there. When he is there he lives vicariously through his friends' families (doing the dishes, taking the kids to school, etc). He will go to great lengths to re-create this feeling of youth-even join the reserve army. Yoash knows himself better in Israel. Furthermore, he likes himself better there.

From his description of Israel one can infer what Home, or what an ideal home is. It is located in the right place, in the right soil (Galilee, Israel), one wants to be there, one has the sense of grounding and centering. There is a meaningful continuity between past, present and future. Home is where one should be, where life is meaningful and existence is authentic. When you live at home you are not disappointed in yourself.

There is a strong sense of dialectical relationship, a partnership between Yoash and Israel. It gave him his identity and personality (and he is happy with both), and he feels he has to reciprocate, to pay some dues, to contribute. Joining the reserve enables him to be even more connected, to make a difference, to be a hero. Canada offers nothing similar.

IN REALITY

Yoash does not really want to live in Israel. He wants to live there also as a tourist, as a Canadian, with a fat bank account in Edmonton, going for a month every year to the arctic circle, keeping his options open, without the stress and discomfort and burdens of Israel. He wants to determine the conditions, to negotiate from a power position. There is still inability to commit, to take the good and the bad, as in a real partnership, a marriage for example. There is the desire to exist out of every day reality, the desire to enter and live in the dream, to prolong the illusion and keep the bubble intact. Yoash himself describes his arrested development, his longing to return to a time and place that was free of adult responsibilities and complexities.

What he wants is basically to re-live the past, re-connect with the old Yoash, recreate patterns of feeling at home (which, luckily or disastrously for him, is still available through friends in Israel), and leave before it becomes too strenuous. He wants to be pseudo in. To go with and feel without. To be inside and outside simultaneously. Veni, Vidi, but not Vice. At home, one is a safe hero. Yoash might not be a safe hero, but he is indeed a safe martyr.

5. GROWING OLD AND DYING

Q: Where is your father buried?

A: Well, my father is buried in Montreal. But it is very clear that when my mother dies, they are both going to be moved and buried in Israel. This issue is closed. And this is very interesting for me, because my mother really preferred to live in Bulgaria, not in Israel. In fact, she suffers in Israel. She would much rather spend time with her friends in Bulgaria. I feel that in many ways Bulgaria is more home for her than Israel. But she wants to be buried in Israel. We are going to visit Bulgaria soon, and I just hope my mother wouldn't pull the same trick on me as my father did, dying six months after we re- visited Poland.

I know where I want to be buried. I know. I know for example that if, God forbid, someone will bury me here, I don't know what I shall do... And I don't believe in God, nothing...nothing like that. I prefer to be buried in the Eilat cemetery, overlooking the city's garbage dump, I prefer even to be even buried or just thrown in the dump itself, than to be buried here. And it is very interesting. My religion is Israel. I don't have, I don't sit and think about God or anything like that. And then I say to myself- you are more religious than the Rabbi here with all of his stories about God. I think...It is as if my God is Israel. Not just the state- Israel, the atmosphere, the land, the soil.

As mentioned, Yoash's journey is far from being complete and meaningful. His dreams of someday living in Israel are aimed at closing The Cycle and injecting some meaning into his life story, as if by returning, as if by even being buried in a garbage dump in a place he never lived in -Eilat- but is located in Israel, a transformation would occur and the continuous mistake which is the present will be rectified. For him, the ultimate disaster is to be buried outside the physical borders of Israel. His ultimate connection to the place manifests itself by the desire to be buried there, a phenomenon that was widespread among religious Jews before the beginning of the Zionist movement. Those Pre-Zionist Jews never lived in Israel, but went there to die and be buried. There is a strong religious, transcendental significance to being buried in Israel. Yoash is not a religious Jew, but uses a term like "God"to manifest his ultimate connection to an entity that is bigger than himself, an entity he can almost be absorbed by. Ashes to Ashes, Dust to Dust- Yoash's account underlines the importance of the physical location of the dust. It is as if Lifton's second mode of symbolic immortality (the theological), is modified and it is not God Yoash wants to be close to in death, but the land and the Israeli nation.

His parents' decision to be buried in Israel, a place they were not born in and decided to leave, indicates that the issue of home and belonging does not end when life ends and that people belong to places in many different ways, in life and after death. Yoash says that Bulgaria is his mother's home. She chose, however, to be buried not in Bulgaria and not in Montreal, but in Israel.

CASE STUDY 2: MOIRA

Moira is a mystery to me. I have known her for more than six years and whenever I think of her I think of change and fluidity, openness to new experience and something I cannot fully comprehend. I remember a time when almost every month she would be involved in something that seemed bizarre to me. At one time she decided to live in the woods in California. At another she decided to sail the Atlantic on a tiny boat, without any previous sea experience.

One of first things I learned about her was that she once was a sanyassin, a disciple of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, the guru of the 'Orange People' who moved from India to Oregon, USA in the 1980s. I didn't know much about Bhagwan, and I think the main reason I did not try to find out more about him and his work, or try to understand Moira better was the enormous apprehension I felt towards the total surrender of his disciples. I found that unacceptable, indeed repugnant. One is brought up in Israel to be a fighter. Surrender is not a legitimate word in one's emotional dictionary. However, as a result of my preoccupation with issues of belonging and attachment, I know now that surrender has something to do with the notion of home. I think the point is that surrendering does not necessarily mean breaking and disintegration. One, even a know- all Israeli, can learn a valuable lesson by surrendering. Surrendering can be a form of transcendence.

Moira was born in New Zealand, and came to Canada to pursue academic studies when she was in her early 20s. She is now nearly 40 years old, has been married and divorced, and now lives with a male partner. She has no children. She is a successful clinical psychologist, working mainly with women and using therapeutic techniques that include hypnotherapy, past lives and body work. About her work she says:

"You can never have a sense of home if you are not in your body, and because a lot of my clients have been traumatized in early stages of life, they have left their bodies. It happened to me, too. So my work with my clients is to invite the spirit back into the body. We cannot have a feeling of home when we are spaced out".

"Many of my clients have parts of them that are at war", she continues, "and I don't think there can be a sense of a safe or peaceful home when we have parts of self fighting each other. So much of my work is creation of connections, agreements between parts of self that have been in conflict".

Moira's view of the world is wholistic. She sees interconnection everywhere, at many levels. Similarly, her conversation links and overlaps many of the topics I have separated out to question my interviewees on.

"Atpresent" she started the conversation "I am preoccupied with finding a place that I can call home. Sometimes it is more of a sense of keeping connected to a homeplace that I have experienced in the past; sometimes it is an external switch, like a particular person I live with or a particular house, or a particular lifestyle; sometimes it is not separate from trying to live in a certain way with myself or to live with a certain feeling, because I guess for me home is related to a certain inner feeling, so it is about being connected to myself.

Q: How do you feel when you are at home?

A: When I feel at home I feel content, I feel peaceful, I feel I like myself, I can express myself and be who I am, so it is a sense of living with myself in a safe and secure and comfortable way"

"I think when we look for an external home, what we are really looking for is an internal feeling, I mean at some level it has nothing to do with the external; the external is important only in relation to how it makes me feel inside. This is the only home that really matters. This is important, you see, this is where it gets scary, because if home is only an external place it can be taken away from us, and if home is an inner place, then no one can take it away, ideally we can always carry a sense of home. If we make no connection to the inner place, home can be destroyed: someone can say 'this is not your place any longer, you can't live here, get out'. But if we cultivate a stronger sense of inner home no one can say 'get out'".

Q: When did this feeling of being at home occur, when did you have it. Please describe different instances in your life when you had it.

A: Well, I had it a lot when I was a Rajneeshee and (I was) doing a lot of meditation and

dancing. I also had then an inspired connection with a sense of community. I feel it sometimes when I am sitting down with a client, and I am really absorbed. I feel it when I am out in the bush. I feel it a lot by the sea... the sea elicits that feeling inside me probably more than any other kind of geography, or environment. There are places where I know I will have a hard time feeling this internal feeling of home, places like West Edmonton Mall, or places that might be overcrowded,really busy, really noisy, those kinds of things...

But, as I said, it is not just tied to a certain physical place. I feel it...I felt it most recently when I was taking a Chi Kung course, (Moira is a Tai Chi instructor), I was sitting in an empty, pretty ugly room in a state of meditation, so the environment was not very conducive, but the feeling was there. A strong sense of peace, and being where I want to be... It is really related to not wanting to be somewhere else...when I don't feel at home inside, I have a feeling of dissatisfaction and a yearning to be somewhere else.

Q: How long can it last?

A: Well, I don't think it lasts forever, unless you are enlightened or something. It is a feeling that sometime I have and then I lose it and then I have it again. Back and forth. When I was sailing I had it often, in that period of nine months I had it frequently. And as I already said, I had it often when I was a Sanyassin. Sometimes I had the feeling every day, for days on end...and I think the real significance about that period was that if I lost it during those times, it was easier to move back into that space... I don't think that it is realistic for me to expect to live in that space forever, but I think it is important for me to know what takes me away from home, and what brings me back to home, to a feeling...".

CHILDHOOD HOME

"When I was a little kid, the land and the sea and the air and the smells were very much a kind of a safe womb for me, because I spent a lot of time outside, in a very safe and very secure way...I really felt the land was my friend...I was free to explore it and to interact with it, and be in it...there was no danger out there...and I had a very strong sensation of being held, being cradled by the planet, and it was...it was home...for me home is really connected to safety and security, for me it's like the safe harbour or something.

Home was not in my house, with my family, because I didn't feel safe there, I didn't feel I could be myself there...I did not feel my family was trustworthy, I felt abandoned by them... but I felt that with the sea, and also with cats, with animals. I felt they were trustworthy and safe, they would not hurt me or betray me, and that I could be myself. I think because of my associations between home and safety and security, that the sea and that part of the planet, New Zealand, are always going to be important to me, that little kid space.

So when I think of home as the land, I think of it as particular beaches, a particular rise... particular shapes of the land and the feeling of the earth... a particular smell, a particular sound and direction of the wind...the way the sky would look...the way the trees grow and the way they are shaped by the wind, all those little physical details".

LEAVING HOME

Q: Why did you leave New Zealand?

A: I was interested in exploring, I was interested in expanding my boundaries, or my limits, or what I had experienced so far and I left because at that time I had a decision to make: most of my friends were deciding to live on the beach and have babies, and stay in New Zealand, and they were choosing a lifestyle that looked kind of appealing, but I knew that I hadn't seen a whole bunch of the other options, and so I left because I wasn't ready to sit in one place at that time.

Q: Did you ever think of living permanently outside of New Zealand?

A: Oh no, when I came here, the only way I could come was to time limit it, and to say I'll be back in two years. It was the only way it was acceptable to myself. But it was partly for my friends as well, because people didn't support someone going overseas...the rest of the world was seen as bad, ugly, evil and irrelevant. There wasn't a lot of support when I left.

You know, New Zealanders think there is nothing wrong with the place and nothing wrong with them. We definitely feel separate, and there is a strong will to keep out foreign and tainting influence, a desire to keep something pure...I mean, New Zealanders do watch T.V.and many New Zealanders travel, but most of them return home happily.

Q: So you felt the need to apologize?

A: When I left, sure, absolutely.

You see, many of the people I went to university with have never left, and probably never will leave. These people- and most of them are well educated- hold the attitude that New Zealand offers exactly what they want, and they have no desire to leave.

Q: So they are not really interested in making it in America.

A: Oh, no, no. I remember reading somewhere that New Zealanders really underestimate the impact of the Polynesian culture (I mean the Maori) on New Zealand culture. The Polynesian culture is very laid back. It's not aggressive, it's not striving in terms of making tons of money, or being famous. It is very much in terms of connection to earth. Maybe that's true, I don't know...

Q: Do you ever feel jealous of people who never left N.Z.?

A: Sometimes, yeah, very, yeah, because many of my friends don't want anything else, they truly don't want to be anywhere else, truly not interested in seeing other parts of the world, really content with where they are, with their lot, and are happy to be there. They have their little place, their little physical home solidly carved out, and they are settled well and truly into it, like a big old comfortable arm chair, and no one is going to kick them out of it. They are not a bit interested...I mean they are not looking over at someone else's armchair and thinking 'gee, I would rather live there'...they are comfortably settled into their armchair thinking 'this armchair is great, I am really glad I am in this armchair'. That's where I am jealous, because I feel that, you know, I sat in thirty different armchairs, and I liked some of them, I liked the colour of this one and the shape of that one, and how my feet sat on the floor on this one...There are lots of pros and cons for each armchair. So I know that for me no armchair is perfect, I don't have such an illusion of 'Wow, this is great'...That'swhere sometimes I feel jealous.

CREATING HOME, BEING AT HOME, RETURNING HOME.

"Until fairly recently", she says "I was happy just being in Canada and I never thought much about a permanent sense of home, in a physical way...I thought a lot about it in internal sense of home, but less in terms of a permanent place, where I would like to live for many years...

Q: What happened, when and why did you start thinking about that?

A: (a very long pause): Well, it involves a lot of the past...I don't even know if I can put it in words...it is like a sense of wanting to stop...inside...a sense of...having a place where I don't have to look further. I think that's developmentally related, because as I told you, when I left New Zealand to come to Canada I really wanted to expand and explore. So then I had many years of looking at different places, exploring in terms of relationship, exploring in terms of lifestyle, exploring in terms of a lots of possible choices. Now in a way I feel it is the time just to make a choice and settle. It's not a time so much to expand, but to concentrate on what I know is important for me: to be connected to nature, to have a really simple life style, and to meditate regularly. So I want to sit in one place and gather those things around me...

A lot of my back and forth between New Zealand and Canada is about finding out which place would support that internal feeling of home most strongly, and that is a really hard question to answer, because some of that internal feeling gets supported by community, and New Zealand provides a certain sense of community that Canada doesn't provide, and Canada provides a certain sense of community that New Zealand doesn't provide. My biological family is in New Zealand and there are certain cultural attitudes and ways of being that I grew up with and on some level feel like home, feel more familiar.

But basically I think it is learning to maintain a connection to a center so that if the environment is non supportive of that, or if the environment is... even if the environment is at odds with that it will be possible to maintain that connection.

Q: Is it divorcing yourself from the environment?

A: No, I don't think so. For me it is more like managing to stay connected, it is like a Hurricane or a Tornado; the eye, the center is totally still, even when around there is chaos and movement... but there is no wind there, no chaos or turmoil... So ideally I could maintain that eye which is that connection with home, even if I am in the middle of Toronto or Mexico city, or somewhere that is very chaotic...I would find that difficult...But it is not blocking yourself to the environment, it is more like...I don't know..like a willow, you don't block yourself, you don't brace yourself against anything. You know how willows are: really bendy and really flexible... they move, they bend, they sway, but they are very much unbreakable. They keep a strong connection to the ground and they keep a center...It's like Tai Chi as opposed to boxing. It is the difference between going with and going against.

I guess that if I was able to find a way to cultivate a pretty strong and continuous sense of internal home then it would be less relevant to me where I lived, because I could have that sense in more places. But if I am not taking responsibility for nourishing that internal sense of home it becomes more important to me where I live and I want to live some place like New Zealand, or some place by the sea that creates, that enhances some sense of home... So I give more responsibility to the environment, to the physical landscape... I am lazy and I would like the planet to help me enhance my sense of home.

Q: Do you feel physically different when you are in New Zealand?

A: Oh, yea, definitely, it's like on a cellular level. My cells respond really differently to how New Zealand feels as opposed to how Canada feels. What I can describe is my response when I land in Aukland and I get off the plane. I have the response that is... well it's emotional, I mean usually I burst into tears and there is this sense inside of return, of something settling, of ahhhh, I am back. There is this familiarity, the smells are different, the air is different, the colours are different, the sky is different and I always forget how different it is, so every sense, every single sense gets an input, a sensation, that is slightly different...and these are the smells and sensations that I experienced since the day I was born...

In New Zealand I can be in the most grumpiest, the most closed mood and I would get off the plane and I would just...I mean in my first breath, something in me would melt and I would feel the earth, I mean I would just really feel these islands, because there is something, to me, so unique about those islands, that I have never felt this kind of interaction, this kind of bodily response, anywhere else, except in the Azores, the little islands off the coast of Portugal, and that was also after an absence. I had been at sea for thirty days and I hadn't seen land and I arrive in this incredibly green island and it was like coming out of the womb. That's the kind of feeling I have when I step into New Zealand... it's like I have been in the desert, I have been absent, I have been away from something and I am coming back to a source, something that nourishes, something that excites, something that plays through my whole body.

I always had that feeling when I lived there, and the last time I was there for three months, I had the sense of 'I love to be on an island'. I don't know if it is a certain vibration, or just a certain part of the planet that speaks to me, or some human beings I like to connect with, but it is certainly a certain rhythm, certain vibration, a certain something.

Q: How do you feel about the land here?

A: I don't have the same feeling here unless I am really open, unless I have been doing a lot of meditation, and....I don't know...like my cells open...then I can get the same feeling, of being able to feel the landscape in my bones, to be able to feel the trees and the mountains and the lakes and the streams. But as I said, it is not as available, here I have to initiate the state. However, over the last few years I have had some really nice times in the bush here in some isolated parts of the countryside. In some ways I learned to love the land here, to love the bush here. I am more open to it than I was, I enjoy it a lot and it can foster this internal feeling of home. I didn't at first, it was just a piece of land, it didn't have particular meaning or a particular pull on my heart. For me, connecting to a sense of home, whether external or internal, requires certain receptiveness: you have to let something in. And I am starting to let Canada's wilderness in. You know, I let it start to move me, like a willow. It doesn't move me the way New Zealand moves me or the sea does, but it is starting to move me.

Q: Are you a Canadian?

A: Am I a canadian citizen? Yes I am

Q: Yes, but are you a Canadian?

A: (laughing): I don't feel as a Canadian. In terms of my internal world, I never say I am Canadian. But I feel more as a Canadian than the first few years I was here. When I came here, I would sit on a bench reading a book minding my own business, and people would come after me and ask where are you from... I had no sense of looking different, I hadn't opened my mouth, but there was obviously a different feel. That happened a lot the first year I was here, less the second and then it just stopped happening- people never come up to me now and ask where are you from. That says a lot to me about the fact that something has changed, at least to other people. Inside... inside I don't feel like a Canadian, but I don't feel like a New Zealander either...I am somewhere in between. I feel I am some kind of a weird hybrid, I am both, I am both in the sense of purple, which is red and is blue, but it's purple. So there is the sense of: I am sort of Canadian and I am sort of New Zealander but I am not blue and I am not red, I am purple- another colour that comes out of the combination of the two. I would never say I am blue, I am Canadian, because inside it feels totally inaccurate, I am more likely to say I am red, I am a New Zealander, but I am most likely to say I am purple, I am some kind of mixture of both.

Q: This is interesting because some people say "I don't know what I am any more", I am not blue and I am not red, but you say I am both...

A: Right.

Q: So where is home in all this?

A: It's in purple, I mean truly, I think it's in purple, but you can't blend New Zealand and Canada physically so it has to be blended in terms of inner state or inner peace. I guess that this is what I am trying to do right now, to keep a certain mix of red and blue, to keep

some connection to New Zealand because the connection with the land is really important to me.

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Q: What happens when you go back to New Zealand, do you feel at home with people?

A: Because my accent is different people would say to me 'are you enjoying our country? Are you having a nice holiday? Where do you live in America?' So when I am back I get a sense of alienation from the people, a sense of 'you are not one of ours'. They respond to me now like I am a visitor. I still feel that I have to apologize when I go home. I feel defensive that I don't sound like New Zealanders and I feel defensive that...I don't know...that I have a Ph.D. and I am a psychologist and I have a private practice and I don't get incredibly upset about crime and certain things here. When I am in New Zealand I get defensive about my lifestyle here. There is usually a judgement that I am stuck up now, I am too big for my boots, I think I am better than they are. Because I have left people would say 'she is an expat (riate)' and that is a loaded word.

Q: Do New Zealanders have a term for people who leave?

A: No, there is no such term.

So when I am in New Zealand now, although I have that connection to the land, I

feel out of place, because people respond to me as if I am out of place, I am different, I don't belong any longer. That makes New Zealanders cautious and insecure, so they are a bit defensive. When I am in Canada I don't get that sense of caution. I get acceptance, I get the sense of 'you are one of us', a sense of belonging.

Q: Is the place where you live now, in Edmonton, your home?

A: Yes, on one level. That place felt like a center and when I walked into it I definitely had a sense of coming home to a place that was safe, a sanctuary for me, a place that supported me just being and expressing myself however I want, a place I could hide from the demands of the world. All that changed dramatically last week, when the house was burglarized. It is too soon to determine what the long time repercussions are going to be, but one thing is certain: the sense of safety and security is gone. I feel that house is less my home now.

GROWING OLD AND DYING

Q: If you had two years, where would you live them?

A: Well, I would definitely live a lot of them by the sea... and I would definitely live some of them in New Zealand... because I feel that in terms of my purple, in terms of my inner balance, the New Zealand component is down. It needs to be upped a bit. So I would live a large chunk of the time in New Zealand or... What else would I do... I would get on a yacht and sail from here, across the Pacific to New Zealand...

Q: Is it important for you where you are going to be buried? have you ever thought of that?

A: I thought about that a lot. I always wanted to be thrown into the sea, but I am not sure I want to do that any longer. I think I would like to be burnt and have my ashes thrown into the Pacific. I would like someone to be standing on the ground, on a peninsula or a high cliff in New Zealand and to throw my ashes into the Pacific or the Tasmanian sea.

ANALYSIS

CHILDHOOD HOME

Moira did not, and still does not consider the place where her family resides as home. That place was not safe and she felt family members were not trustworthy. She felt abandoned by them. She reports that whenever she is with her family 'all the memories come back and I almost immediately contract'. The place she identified and still identifies as home is the New Zealand landscape, the particular terrain and especially the sea, which are strong anchors for her. They provide safety, security, a sense of orientation and trust. Nature provides the much needed stability. She felt cradled and comforted by the land, terms that strongly suggest connection and attachment. She has a strong emotional reaction to the new Zealand configuration, to all of the above mentioned (physical) anchors, whenever she returns home to that country.

The focal challenge for this stage, namely building a secure and well integrated self and identity was only partially met when she was residing with her family and Moira reports that for a long while she did not feel at home in her body.

LEAVING HOME

In a real sense, Moira has been leaving home for almost twenty years. She felt living on the beach, marrying and having babies, in a word- settling in- did not offer her the kind of challenge and excitement, the kind of reaching out she needed. She needed movement and separation (at least from her family), in order to assert herself, in order to find herself. It was a time for searching, expanding and exploring not for carving her own armchair (her metaphor for home).

Talking about her own experience regarding safety, stability and leaving home, Moira says:

"If I have more solid connection to that inner place (which I call home), I am much more willing to leave home, to experiment, to feel more fully. And that's because I have something stable, something safe to come back to. If I don't have any connection to an inner center or inner sense of security I am holding on, I am rigid, I don't move anywhere very fast, it feels too much...I walk through the world very cautiously and very rigidly and there is no fluidity or freedom to explore on any level, whether it is physical, emotional or spiritual".

CREATING HOME AND BEING AT HOME

The main themes in Moira's account of home are connection and integration. Her work with her clients and on herself are strong manifestations of those themes. She describes her task as creating agreements between conflicting parts of the self and bringing the souls back to the body; metaphorically- the creation of an undivided home. She seeks connection to a core, a center, an inner place she calls home. I think she is talking about the core of self, the 'true', 'real' or transcendent self. This, I think, is what she means by "the eye of the Hurricane"- a spot of tranquility and continuity in a changing environment. In her case, centering does not totally rely on relationship with significant others (certainly not her parents) and has nothing to do with nationality. It is the physical anchors she misses. The land and mainly the sea.

Although she describes the facilitators of home in many different ways- a partner, a community, a lifestyle or a place- they all serve to support the internal state of being centered and rooted. When she discusses 'levels of home', it is clear the first level for her is the physical, bodily level. Other terms she uses for her process of centering might be absorption and transcendence (working with clients, meditation). There is the sense of acceptance and appreciation of where she is, and not wanting to be anywhere else.

Moira feels she's done enough experimenting, expanding and exploring. She wants to settle down, dwell and commit to a certain place, for a long period. She is currently looking for that place. Home offers stability, tranquility, familiarity, living in the present, but with a sense and vision of the future. Home is permanence. It is a place, or a space, where one can express one's self with some continuity.

Safety and security are still prime concerns and are always present for her when she discusses home. This is also evident from her reaction to the burglarization of her house. (Perhaps her strong reaction is in part caused by the special meaning of safety and security for her regarding the place she calls home). This may be a result of her childhood experiences. Her parents' house did not fully provide for her needs and the issue was never fully resolved.

Safety and security allow movement. When one has a safe base to return to, one can go on expeditions. In the absence of a safe base, one feels cautious and stagnant (stasis).

If she is successful, Moira could personify the celebrated citizen of the world. She would be transformed into a human form of a snail, carrying home wherever she goes. Home would be available everywhere.(The main difference is the snail carries home outside himself, Moira would carry it inside. But in both cases one deals with a shell, a form of protection).

However,even Moira, a woman ultimately open to change and new experience, willing to surrender to a place, realizes it will be very hard (though not impossible) for her to create a home outside New Zealand. Which brings us to the important issue of availability. The feeling is much more available in New Zealand ("Even if I am in the closest, most grumpiest mood, I would arrive there and I would immediately open... here I have to initiate the state, it is much more difficult)". She also says: "veryimportant notes are being played in me when I am in New Zealand, notes that are never played in Canada". She does not, however, rule out the possibility of entering into a meaningful relationship with the

Canadian terrain, of opening herself to the land, of calling Canada home. I would like to emphasize again that she is not referring to Canadian nationality but to nature, to the bush.

In terms of the focal challenge for this stage, namely creating a home I shall use Moira's description of herself when she says: "sometime I have it (the feeling) and then I lose it, and sometime I have it again..." She realizes it is 'non realistic' to aim at living constantly with this feeling of home.

RETURNING TO THE HOMELAND

Moira's account regarding her experience whenever she returns to New Zealand is particularly eloquent and evocative. For her, home is experienced on a 'cellular level'. It resonates with her pulse, her rhythm and vibrations.

However, it is a particular brand of nature that Moira misses and feels connected to. Her connection with her family and friends in New Zealand is much less happy, fulfilling or enduring. And she certainly does not equate home with national identity.

GROWING OLD AND DYING

If she had two years to live, Moira would make her journey home by sailing across the Pacific. She has to 'up' the New Zealand component in her. She has to die a 'whole' person. The journey back home, and the specific form which it will take, will signify the completion of a meaningful journey.

Her description of the way she chooses to be buried is a strong manifestation of the main influences and themes in her life: New Zealand and the Sea. Stability and Movement. She wants someone to stand on a cliff overlooking the Tasmanian sea and throw her ashes into the sea.

CASE STUDY 3: TAKIE

Takie is a Japanese woman and a mother of three grown men. She is also a divorcee and an artist. The first two roles co- exist harmoniously. The third and fourth are compatible. The two sets, however,clash. The various roles are not smoothly integrated. One can easily trace the seams, the dividing lines between them. These clashes and dilemmas manifest themselves in her perception of home and its meaning for her.

One obvious dilemma Takie presently faces is that she would like to move from her house. It is too big and expensive to keep; it is "depressingly dark" and located in a prairie province. She would like to move to a well lit, small and affordable place by the ocean. She does not do that; she is hesitating and procrastinating because this house is her boys' home. "My older boy is in Saskatoon. He works very hard, and when he comes here, he always says: 'Oh, it is so nice to be home'. I feel I can't move. This location is too important for my boys".

She does not relocate, and the relationship she's developed with her house symbolizes her present situation in more than one way. To start with, she moved from her bedroom to the corner room. Her previous 'master' bedroom is used for painting. Now that the 'master' has gone, art took over his place figuratively and literally. She reports that she does not pay much attention to household chores, cooking and cleaning ("I am supposed to vacuum twice a week, but even when you said you are coming I did not clean"). The house, needless to say, is spotless.

"I try to make my life as convenient as possible" she says. "I try to produce good art and to become financially independent. These are the important things now. Confidence. Maybe confidence is more important for me now than... not happiness... but anyway, this is my goal now".

The house is simple and modest. "Thereis not much Japanese about this house" she reports. She was not the first born and did not inherit much from her parents. Her father was not the first born in his family, so there was not a lot to inherit to start with. She did get many presents for her wedding, but she left them in Japan, 26 years ago. She thought she was going back.

There are some Japanese things in this house. Ashes and Art.

The ashes are of the cat Caspar, who died two years ago at the age of 18. The ashes are located by the dinner table, right beside the tea set."The ash thing is very Japanese" reports Takie. "But it was my son's idea, not mine. He was a university student at the time and when the cat died he was extremely upset. He cried. 'I know it is expensive', he said 'but I would really like to cremate Caspar'. So we did it".

Takie listens to music, looks at a wall and then paints. She would like to wear a kimono while she paints, but doesn't, for practical reasons. There are many magnificent flowers in her paintings, but the dominating presence in the living room is a large three piece painting of a mountain chain. Although the Canadian Rockies are the model for the paintings, the colors, the shape and the feeling are not Canadian. These are softer, subtle, mellow, sad and mysterious Rocky mountains. These are Japanese Rocky mountains. "There is a lot of oriental flavour to my work" Takie says. Her signature on the painting is Japanese.

After a bath she sometimes wears a kimono and listens to Japanese melodies. She loves it. It makes her homesick.

CHILDHOOD HOME

Although she looks Japanese, acts Japanese and at times refers to herself as a 'traditional Japanese'("I worry too much"), she does not consider herself a 'real Japanese'. It's all in the geography. Takie was born on Hokkaido, the most Northern Japanese Island, and there is a relationship between Japanese status and location: the further one is from the Tokyo-Kyoto strip, the less 'Japanese' one is.

"People came to Hokkaido" she explained "because they didn't fit in Japanese society. Most of them were disadvantaged, like my father, who lost all his fortune in the Japanese stock market. The history of Hokkaido is quite short and because the population is not homogeneous, tradition is not really important. When I was growing up, there was a very strong sense of community, and I still remember my parents saying 'a neighbor is more important than blood'".

She grew up in a town near Sapporo. The youngest of six siblings, she is the only one who left Japan. She has strong recollections of always being surrounded by people. Her father was a custom tailor and his business was located at the front of the building. The family lived at the back, with 12 apprentices ("they lived with us for a long time, until they got a job or got married"). Takie's mother, who had just married, had to "feed all of these people", as well as a married uncle who lived with them: "It's a family thing", Takie explains.

She also recalls being slightly different from a "traditional Japanese". "From a young age" she says "I lived in my own world. I didn't go out to play with friends, I just stayed home most of the time. I used to come from school and change to a kimono, go to my room, listen to classical music and work. Young children are not supposed to change into kimono, but I always felt good in it, I always felt calm. I was able to concentrate".

Q: Were your parents religious?

A: I really can't tell. I am sure my mother believed in Buddha, but both my parents didn't practice any religion except at official ceremonies. They never practiced chanting and never attended the (Buddhist) temple. It was more my mother's philosophy and she passed it to us.

Q: Can you give me an example?

A: When everything around is nice and bright I am almost scared of what is going to happen next. You see, my mother never taught us religion, but I got from her the sense that it is not realistic to always stay happy. Something will happen.

Q: Did you have a Shinto shrine at home?

A: Yes. Just as a custom. On New Year's day we used to pray for everybody's health and happiness, not to God or anything. We were just thinking about each other".

LEAVING HOME AND ARRIVING IN NORTH AMERICA

Takie left Hokkaido to study pharmacology at a university on the mainland. She did not like pharmacology studies and contemplated leaving school after her second year ("because they don't let you think") but acted on her father's advice not to quit. She completed her degree and worked in the university as a researcher, a job she liked much more. She got married in 1963 to a graduate student and her first son was born in Japan. Her husband received a post doctoral fellowship and the family left for Oakridge ("where they built the A bomb").

Q: Did you ever want to leave Japan?

A: You know, Japanese absorb so much from other countries...and because we are isolated by the ocean we like to, we are very eager to know what other countries are like. The ocean was very close to my parents' house and I remember looking at the ocean and thinking about the world, places across the sea... but I never wanted to go any other place than Japan. I wanted to travel, but not...I was quite content to stay there. Even when I was following my ex-husband I thought we were going back to Japan. He told me right from the start he didn't want to go back, but I never believed it. I didn't take him seriously".

" So I left everything in Japan. A chest of drawers, a dress mirror, china, crystal, a special door, a futon with a silk cover...I left everything. I had just married and received a lot of wedding presents. I left them with a friend and when I found out we are not going back after all and she was getting married I just gave some of the things to her as wedding presents. She still has my china. When I was visiting her last year she served tea in it...but I never asked for it back. I also gave some things to my parents and now I have hard time asking my sister to return them to me. (Her sister lives with her family in the house where Takie's parents died and inherited the artifacts from her parents at that time). I don't know...it seems the stuff belongs there now".

Q: What did you take with you when you left?

A: The only things I brought here were diapers and baby clothes. And some photographs.

The family lived for two years in Oakridge "and then he couldn't find a job. Our position there was really unstable, because we didn't know if our visa was going to be extended. He was really tired from staying in the U.S., so he applied to immigrate to Australia or Canada. Australia was far away, we didn't have the money, so we decided to go to Canada. Canada was closer.

Q: Did you want to come here?

A: If that is what he wanted, I was quite happy about it. Family is important. That is also something I learned from my mother- family is always important. And for me, if family is important you want your husband to be happy. That was my only concern. If he wants to go to Canada, if that makes him happy, it will make me happy. In fact, where I am going to live was not very pressing for me at that point. I was busy making ends meet every month, raising two children and trying to adjust. I didn't think too much about myself. I didn't think what kind of life...you see, when I was growing up selfishness was the worst thing. Caring for others always came first".

She missed her parents tremendously and badly wanted to visit them. She often cried when she thought about them and how they must be worried about her. "But I knew that my father (she uses the word father but means husband) had pride and would never ask my parents for money to go and visit". For her husband, she says, her behavior was immature. "He used to mock me. He thought I was a baby...because I wanted to see my parents".

About her relationship with her former husband Takie adds: "When I got married I respected him. I always took his side, even when he spoke against my family. I thought he knew better...mysister, by the way, is exactly the same".

"I was extremely dependent on my former husband. I did not experience (American and Canadian) culture fully. I did not use all my capacities. But I made all kinds of excuses so as not to get offended. I tried to fit, even when people mistreated me. I thought maybe they didn't understand me, maybe I didn't speak properly...I blocked myself. I became a helpless child, with no judgement. I was not myself".

She did not speak English very well and even though she passed a driver's test in Japan her husband wouldn't let her drive, "because he thought I might cause an accident". Takie started driving only two years ago, more than five years after her divorce.

The family crossed the Montana-Alberta border in 1966.

Q: What were your first impressions of Canada?

A: (laughing) I remember classical music on the radio. It immediately made me feel at home. Classical music connects me.

The family rented an apartment in the university area, where Takie made "some wonderful friends", but when her husband decided to move to a new house (where she has been living ever since, for 23 years) Takie lost all her friends again. There was no bus route from the new place to university and, as mentioned, her husband would not let her drive.

Sensing her husbands' disapproval her friends ceased visiting. Her Oakridge experience repeated itself- she was again isolated, house bound, stranded with her kids. In fifteen years of marriage she had been to the Rocky Mountains twice.

Q: Were you angry? Frustrated?

A: No. I decided to make the best of it. I decided that if you expect much of life you will probably be disappointed, so the best thing for me is to desert what I want to but cannot do. To not even think about it. I decided to enjoy my children as much as I could. I played with them by myself all summer (my former husband was too busy), and had a great time. My children made me a child again.

About her children Takie says:

"I remember studying with friends all night and talking about the future. People might say I was brainwashed, but I remember thinking 'what is the use of staying in a... what is life for... why we are here? I thought about it many times and I came to the conclusion that since we have uteri, since we are different from men, it must be for a reason. There has to be a purpose. And the purpose, for me, is to propagate the next generation. I think that is the reason I am here.

I was 16 or 17 at the time and I have not changed. I am still the same. I think we are here to bring children and take care of them. I don't know...maybe I haven't grown up. Maybe I am still an old fashioned Japanese. Maybe I was brainwashed. Maybe I haven't improve my lot...but...it's truly amazing...I don't know whether bringing children is my duty or my purpose, but I know that much: the children didn't ask to come, I brought them here, and so it's my responsibility to see them happy.

Children (although they didn't even exist then), were the principal reason Takie decided to study pharmacology in the first place ("I knew I could work at home"). Because of her children she started taking Bible lessons ("I reckon if my children get involved with Christian children I should be able to understand what they are talking about, and not just from a book"). And because of the children she decided against working as a pharmacist after her divorce:

"I knew I would have to start with English. The children were in grades 1, 4 and 7 and I didn't want to be a miserable mother. I knew I was going to be busy, I was going to be hysterical because I like to concentrate. I knew that with my children interrupting I was not going to be happy. I didn't think it was fair on them".

Instead, she took art. Takie never painted before and it took her four years to make up her mind and enroll in an art program ("the boys were raised and then I said o.k...").

When her art instructor said she had a natural sense of composition Takie didn't understand what she was talking about. Then she realized that "when I was young I took flower arrangement and that probably affected my painting. I don't paint centerpiece, I put it a bit on the side. It is because Japanese flower arrangements are not a precise triangle- they are an uneven triangle. As you can see, my mountain has a very oriental touch. I find it funny, because Japanese artists nowadays are painting in a western style, like Cezanne and Monet and here I am painting Japanese style..."

The best thing about art, she says, is that "I had to start thinking for myself. Before I took art I thought whatever my former husband said was right. So every time the art instructor asked me for my opinion, I replied 'what do you think'? My former husband used to say 'this angle is wrong, the composition is wrong' so I just corrected it. But the instructor said the angle is not very important as long as the feeling is there. My art instructor made me think for myself".

The marriage fell apart when her husband suddenly left home. It was devastating for her- "I was really shocked, really shocked, you can't imagine how shocked I was". In retrospect, she reckons that her new found independence, which culminated in an innocent bank transaction she organized and executed herself, was too threatening for her husband. His departure coincided with Takie's first solo show. The couple got divorced eight years ago. When her husband left, Takie felt she had two tasks: to survive, and to protect her children.

GOING BACK TO JAPAN

Q: Did you go back to Japan?

A: I did, and I was quite disappointed. The sense of community is not there anymore. The city has expanded and changed so much...I was looking forward to seeing the places where I grew up and spent my childhood. I missed it very much. But the beach is destroyed and the alleys where I had my tea parties are entirely changed. So my memories of Japan are from the past, it is mainly nostalgia".

"I think I am losing my connection and attachment to Japan. Even the longing to visit, which I always had, is not there any more, although I still have brothers and sisters in Japan. I noticed some things started breaking when my parents passed away. You see, I always thought of home as the particular house where my parents lived. And now my mother doesn't live there anymore and I really don't know what I feel about the place. I was there on a business trip last year and stayed in the house for one night (as mentioned, her sister and her family live there now). I did not feel I really belong there...I did not really try to examine my feelings toward the place- I was too scared to do that".

"I realize Japan is related more to my parents than the culture itself. Anyway,I don't belong in Japan anymore. I have no group to belong to. I am always the outsider".

Q: What do you miss about Japan?

A: The food. I still miss that. Some special flavors, some vegetables you don't get here and the way they are served. And I miss the proper way of doing things- manners, courtesy. But they lost it too, they don't have much left. The morals are different, the relationships are different, even the language is different".

"I am also looking for the family thing" she says "But it is not working very well either. I don't have any closeness with my family. I haven't kept in touch for many years and I get the sense that I am offending them somehow. I don't share their problems in raising children and sending them to university. I don't share their daily struggles. Most of the time I am not interested, or don't even understand what they are talking about. I left Japan so long ago and I have a blank...when it comes to Japan I live in a different time zone".

"And"she says "I miss the ocean. I really, really miss it. I would like to go somewhere and live by the sea".

Q: Does it have to be in Japan?

A: No, not necessarily. Just a nice place on a beach. The other day I watched a film about Nova Scotia and I started crying, I missed the ocean so much. I really wanted to be there.

Q: Is Japan your home?

A: Yes, I think it is home for me.

Q: In what way?

A: It is where I grew up, until I was 26 years old.

Q: So home is where you grew up?

A: Yes. I think home is where you grew up. I think it has much more impact. When you are young everything is on a feeling level, you just absorb and digest everything. Everything stays. You know, all my understanding, all my thinking about chemistry is based on my high school chemistry. I mean, I learned a lot in university, but it is just information, not real understanding.

Q: Do you have any other homes?

Q: What is home?

?: I don't know...that's what I am trying to find out...

!: You know, where your heart is...

Q: So where is your heart?

A: It is flying. It is flying. I haven't made up my heart where I am going to be or where home is. I don't know, maybe I am longing to go to Japan and I am just afraid to admit it. Maybe I am afraid to face the real world. So I am trying to adjust. I always try to find an excuse or reason to adjust. For the sake of my mental stability. To keep my spirit up.

You asked me what do I miss about Japan and I have hard time answering, because I don't have too much room to think about it- what I really want and what I really miss. I am too busy struggling. I really don't know sometimes what I want. I want a peace of mind, but that is too abstract. So when you ask me what Japan means to me I can't really answer. That is not my need. I don't know where home is and what home means. When you ask people about home you have to clarify whether you mean a house or a country. You just go by the English word home and I don't exactly know how to interpret it.

Q: I think that most Israelis, for instance, feel that Israel is home- the whole country- not just a particular house or region.

U: Oh, In that case I can tell you clearly- I am Hokkaido. I have special bonding with Hokkaido people, I feel more alive and excited when I talk to them and when someone says that he or she is from Hokkaido we immediately exchange phone numbers and try to get together as soon as possible. We have a kind of bonding, a province bonding, that we don't share with mainland Japanese. They think we are a bit primitive.

GROWING OLD AND DYING

"I am still a Japanese citizen. I kept it for the longest time because I thought my parents were going to be terribly upset for losing their daughter to another country. Apparently they did not care much. But now I have other reasons for not giving my Japanese citizenship up".

"Since my sons left home and I went to a friend's funeral I started thinking about death and dying and going home. I started thinking where am I going to be in a ...you know, old age, and where am I going to die (Takie is 53 years old). I have read more than once that when the time comes people want to go back home (she emphasizes the last word), where the roots are. And Japanese citizenship is very difficult to obtain".

"I don't see the whole dying thing as negative" she says, "I just realize I have to be prepared. I know some people don't want to think about the funeral, but I have to be realistic. I am saving money for my funeral to begin with and if I decide to send my ashes to Japan I want my boys to carry them. I mean, I can't send my ashes by mail. Then, I want them to have a holiday in Japan, all three of them".

"It was not always like that. For a long time I thought of asking my boys to sprinkle my ashes into the ocean. But then I realized I want my ashes to be kept in the Buddhist temple where my parents' ashes are kept, which is in the city where I grew up. I want my ashes to be in a place where I can be traced. After the divorce I went back to my maiden name. People know my boys by their father's name. So where is Takie? My birth certificate and marriage certificate are there, I can't hide them. People might think Takie got lost in North America. I want them to know where I am and I want them to know I came back.

"On the other hand" she reckons "my boys might want me to stay here and take care of me when I am old. So soon I shall have to make a decision where my home is, and if I am going to take Canadian citizenship".

ANALYSIS

Takie is approaching various junctions where she will have to make choices as to which way to turn and which commitments to make. But while at previous junctions someone else was in the driver's seat, (or the road led only in one direction), she is by herself now. Her roles in the past were clear and consistent with each other, while in the present she is experiencing conflict between her role as a (Japanese) mother and as an independent woman and artist. It seems Takie is procrastinating her arrival at the junctions. She does not move from her house, she puts off her decision regarding Canadian citizenship, she does not examine her feelings towards the old house in Japan. Procrastination seems to be a pattern for her. It took her four years to make up her mind and take art lessons. She was divorced for five years before she started driving again. But Takie knows she will have to make up her mind soon. Meanwhile, her struggle for financial independence and artistic recognition keep her busy. Her indecision and confusions are not dysfunctional.

The key term in Takie's account is adjustment. She does not allow herself to be fussy. She wouldn't dream of negotiating with a place from a power position. She deals with the ingredients offered by the place, always aware of the difference between desire and possibility. "I am just following" she describes herself, "following and adjusting".

She would go to the United States if it was necessary. She will come to Canada if it makes her husband happy. Takie is a Japanese who emigrated to Oakridge, where the A bomb was developed. For an Israeli the equivalent would be emigrating to Treblinka.

However, when Takie explains that Oakridge is "wherethey built the A bomb", there is no trace of agitation, hostility, bitterness or resentment in her voice, it is as if she was saying "wherethey built the biggest shopping mall in the world".

There is no self pity in her account. She does not let herself get offended, does not complain, or even fantasize of a rosy future.

She did not try to raise little Japanese. "My former husband did not want the kids to speak Japanese" she reports, "and I am so happy they did not pick up my English, because I was not speaking English, I was just communicating on a very basic level. I used to just start a sentence and my boys were able to pick it up and finish it"..

She misses the ocean (her most significant anchor), she misses Japanese food. She misses old Hokkaido and her parents. She misses the Japanese artifacts- the wedding presents she had to leave in Japan. But she would not allow herself to openly mourn. Even if she feels she lives in exile, she definitely does not dramatize it.

Takie does not speak about happiness, which she was taught is a transitory stage. The most she is asking from life is to be content. To have a peace of mind. And she does not let herself get frustrated if she is not happy. She accepts and adapts. Focus on self is not her way.

SELF AND IDENTITY

Almost everything about Takie is Japanese- Her upbringing and socialization; the things she misses and the way she misses them; how she relaxes; her general view of life; the way she talks about death, and above all her relationships with her family: her parents, whom she always wanted to please, her husband, whom she followed unquestioningly, and especially her selfless devotion and commitment to her children. Her boys are the significant component in her identity. They are her meaning, indeed her calling, the reason she was put on earth.

But she does not have to reside in Japan to feel Japanese. Her identity is clear and she is able to carry her "Japaneseness" with her. Japanese is the way things are done. Japanese is action. The environment is almost in-consequential.

Because she is so certain of her identity as a Japanese, there is no need to be defensive, cautious and overprotective about it. She can find peace on a beach near an ocean.

Takie reports that after her parents' deaths "things started breaking"and she started "losing connection", but she is losing her connection to Japan, not to her Japaneseness.

Her insistence on stability- the attempt to procrastinate the move from the house- which might be overprotective of her grown children, seems to stem from her desire to provide them with what was provided to her by her parents: thc identification of home with parents who do not change their place of residence as long as they live.

The significant axis (in terms of the proposed framework) which emerges from Takie's account is the axis of Integrity- Disintegration. It was not separation from a place that threatened to disintegrate her self -it was relationships. The only time when Takie's sense of Self was jeopardized came when her husband left. She had to go back to Japan to recuperate after suffering from a breakdown. It seems, however, that she was able to regain control and stabilize her (almost) shattered life due to the existence of a strong organizing principle- her children. Takie does not consider (nor has she any desire to) remarrying, especially not to a Japanese man: " I don't think I am able to serve anyone again", she reckons.

Her movement and separation from Japan- the ocean, the landscape, the culture and her family, did not impede her sense of identity and connection. Separation from place did not mean, in her case, separation from Japaneseness. Physical movement does not threaten to cause internal disintegration. It seems due mainly to Takie's ability to satisfactorily compensate for the separation from Japan with strong connections to her new, created family.

HOME

All of the above dilemmas are manifested in Takie's perception of home and belonging and the meaning she attaches to it. There is much confusion in her account. She says: "I don't know what home is and what home means". She says: "Sometime I feel I belong here, in Canada, and sometime I feel I belong in Japan. And sometime I feel I don't belong anywhere".Her perception of the future is unclear: "I haven't made up my heart where I am going to be...My heart is flying".If one wishes to be dramatic, one could ask: when can Takie let herself find her own home? But being dramatic is not what Takie is about. She does not let her confusion confuse her and in a typical manner says: "I can't answer your question about home because I am still struggling. This (home and belonging) is not my need right now". In addition, and this is important, for Takie HOME IS SEPARATE FROM NATIONAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY. Home is not location. It is relationships. So she is able to leave home and create new homes. My parents" she says, "are dead now, but they are always with me. So I think the physical location is no longer important". The physical location is important, however,for her children, and so it becomes important for her as well.

Wherever she is and whatever she does, Takie will be able to carry her Japaneseness with her. She does not need the closeness of the emperor or any other characteristic of the Japanese nation-state or culture to reaffirm the fact she is Japanese. And she is not glued to a short wave receiver in order to update herself on traffic situation in Hokkaido.

Takie did not- upon arrival- and still does not feel 'at home' in North American culture. Her account regarding her life in the United States and later in Canada is vivid indeed. She says she "was not herself... helpless... did not use all (my) capacities". Her English is not fluent, she is not a Christian, and she often feels Canadians do not understand where she is coming from and what she is about: "Japanese understanding is very subtle" she says, "and people here are too direct. They want to talk about Geishas. They ask why I do not wear kimono to parties. They think we should add spices to our food".

She does not belong in Japanese society either, for she does not have a group to belong to. But wherever she might find herself "In Tokyo or in Vancouver or in the countryside", she doesn't need much. "I will go shopping in the few stores I already know, or eat in the same few restaurants, or visit a few friends". She does not move in very wide circles.

Takie is not even certain where she would like to live when she is old and about her final resting place. Even here, the conflict between the various parts of her self prevent her from arriving to a clear decision. Home could have been where her husband is ("I have some good Japanese friends here. Their home is their relationship with their husbands"), but her divorce denied her that possibility. So on the one hand there is the past- Japan, where her roots are, where she grew up, where her family lives and where she can be traced. On the other hand the present and the all important children.

A NOTE

It is apparent from Takie's account there is a significant difference between the English term home and the various terms Japanese use in order to describe where they were born, reside and belong. The terms used in the three cultures and languages (Japanese, Hebrew and English) indicate the different meanings, emphases and relative importance of the concept in the respective cultures. This issue will be addressed later.

I'll conclude with Takie's account of furu sato: "Furu sato" she said "is a nostalgic home. It is the house where you grew up, a place that you miss. I don't have a house there (in Hokkaido) any more. I used to play near the ocean, I used to have tea parties in the back alleys- this is my furu sato. Furu sato is my Hokkaido. This is where I grew up and is not there any more. In that sense I have a home in Hokkaido, but realistically my house is here and I can't have nostalgia here, because I live here. Come to think of it, I have two furu sato. The first is where I grew up. But Canada might become a furu sato as well. I know that if I moved back to Japan I would long to see the Rocky Mountains and Alberta's blue sky again. After all I had been living here for half of my life".

SUMMARY

YOASH:

SELF: Individualistic, Self fulfillment, Self Satisfaction. True Self, or Authenticity (Turner,1981) equals living at home, and "True Self" is experienced and expressed only in Israel.

IDENTITY: Personal identity equals national identity, equals home= True Blue Israeli. Identity territorialized.

LOYALTIES: To self, to Israel. To self in Israel.

CENTERING AND GROUNDING: Refusal to center and ground. Discontinuity between Past, Present and Future.

MODE OF COPING: Intentional dissociation from place. Struggling with new place. Closed to the new place. Defensive about and protective of national Identity.

TONE OF ACCOUNT: Dramatic, dogmatic, a combination of self pity and defiance.

METAPHOR: Boxing. Karate. Place is the opponent.

WHERE IS HOME: Split- Israel and where mother is.

DILEMMAS: Knows he is in the wrong place, but does not muster the resolve to move. Physical separation from homeland threatens identity. Physical movement results in partial mental stasis, a deathlike feeling. Relationships (wife and children) receive fallout from his personal "stuckness".

Yoash chooses to stay marginal. His predicament provides a glimpse into the state of mind of the "Stranger"(Simmel:1950) or the "Marginal Man", a concept developed by Stonequist (1937) and Park, who writes (1950:356-7):

> "Thereis no doubt periods of transition and crises in the lives of most of us that are comparable with those of the immigrant experience when he leaves home to seek his fortune in a strange country. But in the case of the marginal man the period of crises is relatively permanent. The marginality tends to become a permanent personality characteristic..."

Park, of course, did not know any immigrants from Israel (the state did not even exist at the time). But he knew Jews. And like some traditional Jews, Yoash nourishes his marginality. Not in terms of structural variables, but in terms of belonging[1].

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[1]. Some Jews, as evident by the Jewish emancipation movement of the eighteenth century made a concerted effort to belong in their "host" countries, but were constantly rejected.

MOIRA

SELF: Individualistic, Self fulfillment, Self exploration. True Self, or a feeling of authenticity can be experienced sitting in front of a bare wall.

IDENTITY: Purple. Not entirely Canadian and not entirely New Zealander. Identity is not territorialized.

LOYALTIES: Divided loyalties. Roots have been created in Canada and New Zealand.

CENTERING AND GROUNDING: Commitment to living in the present and taking personal responsibility for these tasks.

MODE OF COPING: Surrendering, opening, but actively searching for new experiences.

TONE OF ACCOUNT: Low key, curiosity, openness

METAPHOR: Willow, Tai Chi

WHERE IS HOME: Can be both in New Zealand and Canada. Home is in Purple.

DILEMMAS: Cannot decide where she wants to live. Envy of her friends who never left New Zealand, where the landscape facilitates in her a feeling of home and where she feels easily open and available. The inability to physically mix New Zealand and Canada, be in two geographical places at once.

TAKIE

SELF: Self sacrifice. True Self, or being Authentic can be expressed and experienced both as a mother and an artist.

IDENTITY: Japanese. Japanese equals action. Home does not equal national identity. Identity is not territorialized.

CENTERING AND GROUNDING: Where the children are

MODE OF COPING: Following, adjusting, surrendering, accepting, bending.

TONE OF ACCOUNT: A mixture of confusion, resilience and determination

METAPHOR: Willow, mother

WHERE IS HOME: "I haven't made up my heart yet". Confusion. Current residence is important for the children but she does not like it.

DILEMMAS: In terms of loyalty, she is always loyal to the family, but her past family and roots are in Japan, and her present family is in Canada.

YOASH, MOIRA, TAKIE AND THE PROTEAN (WO)MAN

Both Yoash and Moira, in sharp contrast to Takie, are highly individualistic people. However, their coping mechanisms with regard to the new place and their perception of home differ sharply.

He travels horizontally, she travels vertically. He changes places, she changes internal states while keeping rooted. Surrender and letting go (for Moira and Takie) do not mean breaking and both women are not threatened by change. Moira welcomes it. Takie accepts it. For Yoash real change, even acknowledgment of change (specifically regarding the question of where home is) is synonymous to breaking and disintegration.

In a way I find Moira and Takie to be more 'Jewish', in the traditional sense than Yoash (Yoash is more 'Israeli' than both of them). Prior to the Zionist movement and the foundation of the state of Israel Jews had to surrender to their predicament of living in various places around the globe, while keeping rootedness (their faith). Jews were willows. Israel, and the ethos of the warrior significantly changed that. Surrender is not a word with high recognition in the Israeli emotional dictionary.

However, in spite of the remarkable differences with which the three present themselves, there are some similarities in the way they talk about home- all describe unique, almost exclusive relationships between specific physical and cultural settings and internal states. For all three, this seems intimately related to their childhood environment and to childhood anchors that signify home for them.

Moira and Yoash are physical people, and this might be the reason why they experience home on a bodily level. Both feel more alive, more themselves in their homeland, the place where they grew up. And both, to different degrees, leave the responsibility for the creation of those internal states to the environment. Moira says she is somewhat lazy and would like the planet to help her create an enduring internal home-state. Yoash does not even consider the possibility of calling somewhere else, other than Israel, his home.

Takie misses Japan. She misses the ocean and she misses the food. But belonging is not as important for the self sacrificing Japanese woman as for the two individualistic individuals. Another way to put it: They belong where they choose, she belongs where she is needed. She makes herself belong.

If Moira met Yoash, or someone like him, she would possibly laugh (Or she might accept him into therapy in an attempt to have him learn to laugh at himself).

If Yoash met Moira, he too might laugh, but with a deep edge of cynicism and perhaps a sense of being threatened by the relative ease with which she lives with ambiguity and ambivalence.

If Moira met Takie she would probably know where Takie is coming from. After all, Moira knows a thing or two about surrender (although she would probably question the self-sacrificing part). If Yoash met Takie, he would probably congratulate her on her new found- independence, now that she finds herself alone. He would totally reject both the self-sacrificing and surrendering parts.

PROTEAN MAN

In 1968, Robert Lifton introduced the concept of Protean Man, the chameleon like modern individual, whose self is constantly undergoing flux and change[2].

The protean style of self process is characterized by an "Interminable series of experiments and explorations-some shallow, some profound-each of which may be readily abandoned in favour of still new psychological quests" (p.16). Beliefs and emotional involvement can readily be abandoned in favour of another. Lifton argues that in many ways, the pattern resembles what Erik Erikson has called "identity diffusion" or "identity confusion", and the impaired psychological functioning which those terms suggest can be very much present. Lifton stresses, however, that the protean style is by no means pathological as such, and, in fact, may well be one of the functional patterns of our day. "I have an extraordinary number of masks I can put on or take off"Lifton quotes one of his patients, who continued to ask:

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[2]. Proteus was able to change his shape with relative ease-from wild boar to lion to dragon to fire to flood. What he found difficult, and would not do unless seized and chained, was to commit himself to a single form, the form most his own.

Lifton maintains that two historical developments contribute to the creation of protean man. The first is the world-wide sense of what he called historical (or psychohistorical) dislocation:

> "The break in the sense of connection which man have long felt with the vital and nourishing symbols of their cultural tradition-symbols revolving around family, idea systems, religions and the life cycle in general. In our contemporary world one perceives these traditional symbols as irrelevant, burdensome or inactivating, and yet one cannot avoid carrying them within or having one's self process profoundly affected by them.

The second large historical tendency is the flooding of imagery, produced by the extraordinary flow of post-modern cultural influences over mass communication networks.

The term is associated with "The end of ideology" thesis proposed by Daniel Bell, since "Protean man is incapable of enduring an unquestioning allegiance to the large ideologies and utopian thought of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (p.17).

According to Lifton, some of the more celebrated examples of the Protean style include Jazz music, Jack Kerouac's On the Road and some of Saul Bellow's books, notably Augie March, who reported: "I touched all sides, and nobody knew where I belonged. I had no good idea of that myself". Marcello Mastroianni embodies in the characters he often portrays the Protean style, with his "frightened, characteristically 20th century look", and with "a spine made of plastic napkin rings".

> "Is there, or should there be, one face which should be authentic? I'm not sure that there is one for me...there is not a single act I cannot imagine myself committing... I tend to think that for people who have these many, many masks, there is no home" (p.17).

Another way of phrasing the last sentence is: "For people who have these many, many masks there are too many homes.

Images of repeated death and rebirth, characteristic of the Protean style become associated with the themes of fatherlessness. "I have no Superego" writes Sartre. Superego is equated with susceptibility to guilt, and what has actually disappeared- in Sartre and in protean man in general- is the classic superego, the internalization of clearly defined criteria of right and wrong transmitted within a particular culture by parents to their children. "Protean man" writes Lifton (p.20) "Requires freedom from precisely that kind of superego-he requires a symbolic fatherlessness-in order to carry out his explorations".

I interpret Lifton's Protean Man in terms of two related characteristics: openness and ability to change. Regarding those aspects, Moira is a good example of a Protean Woman. She is not committed to any strong external ideology, she does not have strong ideas about right and wrong and she certainly does not believe in guilt[3]. Her marching orders come from inside. In this sense she is fatherless. Moira embodies the idea of omniattention "The sense of contemporary man as having the possibility of "receiving"and

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[3] . There is, however, a faint sense of unease in her account, particularly when she discusses her movement between New Zealand and Canada. Unease is another important characteristic of Protean Man.

"taking in" everything. In attending, as in being, nothing is "off limits" (p.21). Moira wouldn't mind if someone described her as a woman with a spine made of plastic napkin rings. In fact, this is the way she portrays herself when she compares herself to a willow.

I am not suggesting, however, that Moira does not have a center. She has a strong, enduring center which she refers to as home. She does, however, let the world touch this center and alter it, as is evident from her description of the Canadian bush.

Moira might wear different masks, but some masks are "offlimits". I can't imagine her, for example, wearing the mask of a business woman.

Yoash, on the other hand is the farthest thing from a Protean Man. In fact, I think this is one of the images he would dread the most. He is wondering but not really searching and never letting anything in. He is not fatherless. He is not "Starved for ideas and feelings that can give coherence to his world" (p.18). He knows what's right and what's wrong, and one sin he cannot imagine himself committing is an acceptance of his predicament as an immigrant, admitting he is not going back to Israel. That will make him feel really guilty.

Yoash does not have a spine made of plastic napkin rings- that is how the typical diaspora Jew was portrayed and the last thing Yoash would allow is for himself to be described in this manner. His spine is made out of wood. He refuses to wear masks. There is only one face for him and he insists on wearing his heart on his sleeve, whether appropriately or not.

> "Just as elements of the self can be experimented with and readily altered, so can idea systems and ideologies be embraced, modified, let go of and reembraced, all with a new ease that stands in sharp contrast to the inner struggle we have in the past associated with these shifts (p.18)

This is how Lifton characterizes the Protean Man. Undoubtedly, this does not describe Yoash. Particularly where the idea of home is concerned.

Yoash possesses, however, one trait of Protean Man: a sense of absurdity:

> "An incongruence between the outside world and inside feeling, a perception of surrounding activities and belief as profoundly strange and inappropriate. A breakdown in the relationship between inner and outer worlds-the sense of symbolic integrity (p.19)

"Man", writes Lifton "A symbol forming organism, has constant need of a meaningful inner formulation of self and world in which his own actions, and even his impulses, have some kind of "fit" with the "outside" as he perceives it". Yoash lacks that sense in his current predicament.

Like Moira, Yoash does have a center. His center, however, is closely connected and associated to a specific environment and culture. This center is immutable and closed to change.

If Moira is (almost) Protean and Yoash (definitely) Non Protean, Takie is located somewhere between them. For a traditional Japanese woman, to lose both her father and her husband, implies a "fatherless" state of existence. She, too experiences identity confusion.

Takie is not searching for change, and does not welcome it. She does, however, change: she goes through transitions that life brings to her. Some pillars of her identity are functionally secure now. When one important pillar, her identity as a wife collapsed, it threatened to cause complete disintegration (the reported breakdown), but she was able to hold on to her self as mother and to create a new pillar- her self as artist.

A CULTURAL CASE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

In this section of the study, I shall elaborate on some concepts and themes mentioned earlier. I shall explain what Anchors, Roots and Center are and review Identification Theory.

The observations and quotes for this section were gathered from all the participants in the study, not necessarily from Israelis or Japanese.

In the next section I shall analyse Israeli culture. The analysis focuses on the Israeli nation-state as center and home.

ROOTS AND ANCHORS

"If we were meant to stay in one place, we would have been born with roots (Travellers' commandment #6)

"Know where you came from, and where you are heading" (Pirkei Avot)

"And it really doesn't matter if I'm wrong or I'm right
Where I belong I'm right, where I belong (Paul McCartney, "I'm fixing a hole")

"...It's barbaric, but hey, it's home" (Aladdin)

The first station of the journey is the perfect home- The womb. There, one is sheltered and protected, indeed engulfed. No cognition is involved, belonging and meaning are non-issues. Put differently- one totally belongs in the womb. It is the same type of belonging as the fish has with the water or the tree has with the soil- total physical dependency on the habitat. The fish and the tree exist 'authentically'. This type of belonging means one cannot separate from the particular environment and still survive. One is positively powerless and delightfully dependent. There are no decisions to be made. One is choiceless.

Choicelessness and relative powerlessness characterize the childhood home. Like most things in childhood (a given name is one of the most obvious examples) home is provided [1].

Elements of the taken for granted world, in other words what I refer to as anchors

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[1]. At the early stages the self and the material cosmos are undifferentiated. Piaget (1970) says: "During the early stages the world and the self are one; neither term is distinguished from the other.. the self is material, so to speak". This is the stage of absolute adualism, pre-spatial and pre-temporal.

are offered and to a certain extent imposed.

> Grinder (1981:61), explains that:
> "Every experience includes multiple components: visual, auditory, kinesthetic, olfactory and gustatory. Anchoring refers to the tendency for any one element of an experience to bring back the entire experience. You have all the experience of walking down the street and smelling something, and then suddenly you are back in another time and place. The smell serves as a "reminder"of some other experience. That's an anchor".

Our experiences, then, are attached to anchors, which, in turn trigger memories and emotions. ANCHORS CONSTITUTE THE LIFEWORLD, AND WHEN ONE BELONGS THEY ARE TAKEN FOR GRANTED. TAKING THE WORLD FOR GRANTED, THEN, IS ONE OF THE BASIC MANIFESTATIONS OF BELONGING. I remember stepping out one morning (in Edmonton) and feeling suddenly 'at home'. I couldn't figure out why that feeling occurred, until my wife noted that there was a very strong and distinct smell of wet soil. It was raining. "WhenI arrived at the (American) Midwest I smelled Eucalypti and dry land. It was something I did not experience since I left Israel. I felt at home", reported Israeli singer (now residing in the United States) David Broza.

Anchors are strong signifiers of 'home'. One of the most powerful anchors, especially for immigrants, is language. This point is very well researched and documented, especially in studies regarding ethnic identity (Driedger,1989; Isajiw et. al,1990)[2], so I would like to elaborate on the less explored aspects of anchoring and home, aspects which emerged directly from this study.

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[2]. Based on the work of Piaget and other prominent developmental psychologists, Wilber (1980:428), maintains that the structure of the language is the structure of the self and the "limits of the world" for people who speak the language.

The shape of a particular landscape is an anchor. The view of Tel Aviv shoreline from the air, upon approaching Israel, seems to be a very strong anchor for returning Israelis. The strength of physical, topographical anchors was evident in Moira's account and is echoed here by an Immigrant from El Salvador:

> "El Salvador is located on the slopes of a volcano, and I felt that the Volcanos around the city greeted me, I could identify with those Volcanos every day...all my points of reference were these hills, those geographic features...I never had a sense of North, South, East or West, nothing...I just knew that the San Hassinto hill was on the south side, that the Wassapa hill was on the North side, and that the San Salvador Volcano was on the West side and so on...and I knew where I was heading when I saw those features there. Here (in Edmonton) I have sometimes been disoriented, I am in a place and I am like 'where the heck am I going?'...I don't know where the North or the South is, especially when there is no sun. I was once going to Elk Island Park and I took a secondary road and all of a sudden I went into an intersection and I didn't know where to go. I felt terribly disoriented...I felt lost...thereis no feature here, there is nothing that tells me where I am, everything is just a big extensions of land, like a desert, especially with the snow...
>
> I told a friend of mine (an emigrant from Nicaragua) about the Volcanos, how much I miss them. I thought it sound so mushy...but she told me she had adopted a tree. She said she had made herself adopt this particular tree, on the way from her house to the university, so she can have this familiar geographical...object...being...that she could relate to. I hadn't had anything like that yet, it might be a good idea... maybe I should become friends with the river...

Dick Humphreys is an American who had been living in Canada for three decades. Last year, after 50 years of absence he returned to China, where he grew up:

> "And it felt like going home, despite the fact that the city have changed greatly. I found only one person who remembered my father. So from a relationship perspective it wasn't there...it was a physical homecoming. It was strictly related to place and the place stimulated the memories. The larger configurations were still there- the mountains, and the sea, and "Devil Island" in the bay. And the geographic features were enough associated with...with childhood that...that...it was home..."

A cherry blossom is an anchor. The unique configuration of the sun in the prairie sky signified for one of the participants home coming.

The ocean is a very powerful anchor for many Japanese participants. "I become very emotional even when I travel to Vancouver"noted a Japanese emigrant who had been living here (on the prairie) for thirty years. "When I see the shoreline I am swept by emotions".

Food is also a powerful anchor. For one (Canadian) participant it was Oatmeal in the morning. For one of the Israeli participants it had to be a certain brand of cucumbers. A Japanese participant indicated she would drive to the other side of town to get a fresh piece of sashimi.

> Said a woman who had been living in Edmonton for almost 10 years:
> "The first thing I do when I go back home, to Israel, is start eating. I eat buckets of Hummous. I just can't stop. And I dance Israeli folk songs and I just walk the streets. And after a while I feel saturated. I feel my batteries are charged again. I feel I absorbed enough. But it takes usually four to five weeks. Two weeks are certainly not enough"[3].

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[3] ."Even if they start eating cereal for breakfast, they (Israelis in New York) can't survive without their Israeli salad and 'havita' (A typical Israeli way to prepare eggs: it's not sunny side up, it's not overeasy, it's not scrambled and it's not an omelette. It's havita). ("Bamahane",1988).

More on Havita, from a slightly different source: "The thing I miss the most, the thing that symbolize home (and freedom) for me is eating havita in pita bread with a green onion", confessed Roni Leibovitch, a once mighty bank robber, now serving time in Israeli jail (Yediot Aharonot,1993).

Artifacts, such as pictures, photographs, artwork or heirloom pieces are anchors and are important in the creation of a new home, as if they (the artifacts) contain, or carry with them energy or memories and bring them to the new place. Through the anchors one is able to relate the present to the past[4]. In other words- anchors are important mechanisms for centering. They ground us and are linking threads to our personal history, our old, previous 'selves'.

Immigrants frequently talk about roots. Malkki (1992:28) notes that conceptualizations of the relations between people and place readily take on aspects of metaphysical sedentarism. She argues that both in laymen and scientific discourses "our identities are territorialized". Roots and anchors are not synonymous and the relationship between them is still to be determined. It is, however, clear that when people talk about their roots, they, at times, refer to their anchors. Anchors are, in part, the symbols that allow us to feel more rooted. At times they may serve to remind us of the feeling states we experienced during the process of socialization. They remind us (ideally) of connection and integration.

However, when people talk about roots they usually refer to the past, as if roots

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[4]. The importance of possessions has been demonstrated by Wapner et.al. (1990), in their study of the adaptive role cherished possessions play in the lives of old people undergoing a life transition (moving to a nursing home). The researchers report that:
1. Residents with possessions adapt better to the nursing home.
2. Possessions provide historical continuity, comfort, & sense of belonging to their elderly owners.
3. Women are more likely than men to own possessions and to associate them with self-other relationships.

On 26.7.94 a fire was eliminating the forests near Penticton B.C. The reporter on CBC's news introduced a home owner who had to evacuate his residence. "When he heard about the fire, he grabbed a few photo albums and rushed out".

grow only in one direction- down, to the soil. Anchors spread in all directions-down, to the land, but also up, to the culture, nation and symbolic immortality.

So whenever an anchor, or a combination of anchors is present, people might say "I felt at home", or "it was like coming back home".

Anchors are something like talismans, strengthening the 'essential' parts of us that were weakened or lost through change and movement. Anchors are one's islands in the stream. They act as catalysts, but the feeling state they engender is not necessarily positive, clear or desirable. The presence of the anchor might be a reminder of home, but not necessarily foster a warm or good feeling. In addition, when an anchor is removed from the gestalt in which it originally 'operated' (was introduced, experienced and seems to 'belong' to) and 'stands alone', it might be a reminder that the place where this anchor is currently experienced is not home.

The process of creating anchors, connecting and belonging- in other words the process ofcreating home and being at home as a child is not a conscious process. A place is experienced as what Million (1993:23) refers to as "constituted totality" and the lifeworld is a unified whole. Children, and people who never left home experience themselves (ideally) as part of a seamless totality (Casey, 1982,1987; Tuan,1980).

The child spontaneously takes the environment in without much reflection, with the assistance of the mechanism Hiss (1990:23) calls "simultaneous perception":

> **"We can experience any place because we've all received, as part of the structure of our attention, a mechanism that drinks in whatever it can from our surroundings. This underlying awareness- I call it simultaneous perception- seems to operate continuously, at least during waking hours, even when our concentration seems altogether engrossed in something else entirely...Simultaneous perception is more like an extra, or a sixth sense: It broadens and diffuses the beam of attention even**

> handedly across all the senses so we can take whatever is around us- which means sensations of touch and balance, for instance, in addition to all sights, sounds and smells... through one system of perception we see ourselves as observers of an environment composed of separated objects, but at the same time, through another system of perception, equally active, we look for ways in which we are connected to or are part of our surroundings".

Place and culture, then, are absorbed in childhood. The child is open to the environment. And unless there are strong counter indications, he is open to the possibility of calling the place where he grows up home. "I accepted Israel as home exactly the same way I accepted my Jewish religion", noted one participant, who is an observant Jew- "No questions asked". As shall be demonstrated later, one of the crucial hinderances in the creation of home in adulthood, especially for Israeli emigrants, is their tendency to be closed to any place other than Israel. They are, furthermore, closed to the possibility of calling Canada home. They tend to fight the place.

In childhood, self is developed, realized, maintained and reaffirmed through an ongoing dialogue and feedback with anchors. Self is recognized in the flow of time where significant points such as ceremonies or holidays are used as anchors, points of stability and reference. At the end of the socialization process the child is ideally located- centered- in the midst of what I describe as a set of concentric cycles [5], with anchors at each level (or cycle)- starting at the bodily level (with anchors such as food, smells, colors and topographical configurations), and moving to more symbolic anchors, such as language and

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[5]. Hollander calls it "A set of Emersonian conceptual concentric cycles" (1991:40).

particular words within it (see also Cuba and Hummon,1993)[6]. I shall later argue that the word "bait"-home in Hebrew, is a powerful anchor- it contains potent semantic energy[7]. Other anchors might be ceremonies and perhaps the flag and the national anthem [8].

"The home" writes Georg Simmel (1984:26):

> **Is an aspect of life and at the same time a special way of forming, reflecting and interrelating the totality of life...it is a cultural form in which all of the contents of life may be structured- a fundamental category on the basis of which the entire world of culture can be constructed and experienced.**

Seldom, however, will the child stop and reflect: This is my place. This is where I belong. People rarely reflect about the meaning of home when they are at home (see also Seamon, 1980:192). "From the Edenic standpoint, Adam and Eve had no house, because

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[6]. Language is the means of transcending the simply present world. Through language, one can anticipate the future, plan for it, and gear one's present activities in accordance with tomorrow (see Wilber:1980).

[7]. Jung (1959) maintains that the symbol is the mechanism that transforms energy.

[8]. Relph, in his "Existential Continuum" (1976:61-70) describes the experience of place as ranging from "Existential Insideness", or being an insider, to "Existential Outsideness", or being an outsider.

EXISTENTIAL INSIDENESS Is the condition whereby "People are their place and a place its people" (1976:43). The insider, the one who belongs, simply knows that this place is home. Here, activities, those with whom those activities are carried out, and the space within which they occur, are appropriated in such a way that they are experienced as indivisible (Alexander,1979; Richardson,1984; Jager,1975). The insider's lifeworld is one of involvement in habits, in process and events normally unnoticed and unquestioned. Existential insideness, or what might simply be called "being inside" presents itself as the experience of being "Here rather than there, safe rather than threatened, enclosed rather than exposed" (Seamon,1979:89).

EXISTENTIAL OUTSIDENESS- Is the reciprocal opposite of being inside in that it presents itself as an "alienation from place"- a "homelessness", a sense of "unreality in the world" and of not belonging. In essence, the qualitative (meaning) dimension appears diminished or absent. Being outside presented itself to the survivors of Buffalo Creek Hollow (Erikson,1976) in that the hollow, a place which embodied their lifeworld came to standstill "there", apart and indifferent to them (Relph,1976:127, Jager,1975).

From Relph's point of view, being inside and being outside are not exclusive categories, but rather reciprocal constituents in the lifeworld. See also Million's (1993) discussion.

they were so purely at home" notes Hollander (1991:37).

"The stage was my home" Michael Jackson reflected once, "Outside I felt lonely, sad and uncomfortable". Jackson does not describe what home is. He describes how he felt out of home and the reader is left to infer from the absence what the presence means. When one belongs, one seldom thinks about the nature of belonging, almost never articulates it, or is even conscious of it, not unlike the way one seldom reflects about oxygen or about breathing. One exists in it. One surrenders to it. One takes it for granted. The fact home is taken for granted is probably why we have much more literature about the loss of home, it's absence, than about what home is.

Choices and commitments are limited when one lives at home as a child. Culture is always there, like a smorgasbord, and one can always approach the table and taste something new, or re-fill the plate with a favorite dish. This is why one becomes aware of the anchors usually only when one loses them, or when one comes back to them. "I remember the first Christmas we went back into Vancouver" recalls one participant, "I remember how green it was everywhere, and I thought of emerald city. I couldn't believe how much I have gotten used to not being in the wind and in the trees, and I realized how much I have missed the smell of the ocean and the rain and the feel of salt on my skin. It was extremely painful for me, because (at that point) I could not go back".

I am also arguing that anchors created in childhood carry more significance than ones developed in adulthood. I hesitate to use "imprinting", but I can think of no better term. "Fully functional attachment behavior always matures early in the life- cycle" writes Bowlby (1969:231), "and is soon active at intense levels; whereas, in adulthood, attachment

behaviour is usually active at lower levels of intensity".The Israeli national Poet H.N. Bialik reflected: "The first time things are seen is the crucial one. Afterwards, it is merely unmeaningful repetitions". For someone for whom personal awareness is a commitment (as in Moira's case) perceiving everything as new and fresh is a chosen task that enables her to see and integrate meaning again and again. Yoash, however, would resist this way of being with all the weight of his personal and national history.

Living away from their homelands, immigrants tend to miss the inactivated parts of their selves- the parts of their selves which are activated by the interaction with the specific anchors-the interaction of body and environment, being with friends, eating the particular food etc. At times, one returns home after a long absence and the anchors are still all there, in the original setting, as if waiting for travellers to reconnect, re- ground, re- center and re-activate their selves in the midst of the anchors. When the 'numb' parts of the self are re-activated it feels like homecoming. One participant compared it to being located in the center of a web- a web of connectedness. Another participant described being home in musical terms: "A whole symphony is played through my body"she said. And an Israeli who returned home after a long absence said simply: "It feels natural for me to live here".

Home carries different meanings and is internalized in many different ways, because it responds to focal challenges which change through the life cycle. Home can be a feeling of homeostasis in the sense of calmness and tranquility and home can be a place where one feels activated and challenged, or even threatened. One person might claim "Africa is my home"- meaning "In Africa I feel good, some of my significant anchors are in Africa" while another might claim "My Quaker faith is my home", meaning "This is where I feel peaceful,

calm and confident and this is the most enduring and important anchor throughout my life". A trailer can be a home as can a political movement.

I noted earlier that home is a multifaceted and at times contradictory phenomenon. For example, home does not necessarily mean a place one likes or even wants to be in. One might not like all the aspects of home, the same way one doesn't like every aspect of one's self, and as shall be demonstrated people periodically have to be out of home. Some Israelis report they loath the weather, the noise and what they call the 'Israeli mentality'. They do not like their own behavior in Israel because it "brings out" the worst in them. But without exception they recognize and accept the place (Israel) as 'theirs'. "I thought Managua was a very ugly city" said an emigrant from Nicaragua. "But it was mine. When I was living there I was able to recognize the world outside my door as my world. I felt connected".

The common denominator of all the above mentioned "homes" is that they always represent a center, a focus. This center provides meaning and is the place where one recognizes one's self[9]. Home is where the essence is. "Home is the fire burning at the center of my awareness" writes Joseph Rykwert (1991:78).

All of us have had different centers in our lives, and our ability to create home is dependent upon our ability to carry the center with us or to create a new center. Anchors are important in creating a new home because they remind us of our previous centers.

The center might be found internally or might be tightly related to a place (as shall be demonstrated shortly), or to environmental anchors. It might be created by relationships with parents or with children. Usually home is a combination of place and relationships, for most of us need external anchors to facilitate the internal feeling of home.

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[9]. A detailed discussion on the various meanings of the term "Center" is in the section on Israeli culture.

A SHORT CASE STUDY

As noted, belonging does not facilitate reflection. At least not often. Non- belonging does. It would be useful, then, to explore the issues of belonging and centering through the story of someone who experienced non-belonging.

Rose is 45 years old. She grew up in Vancouver and her childhood is marked by constant movement, forced, unwelcome, resented and destructive movement between various, at times abusive foster care families and by the acute absence of a base. "We(She and her younger brother) never belonged in those foster homes" she says. "It was obvious they accommodated us only because they were paid". As a child Rose often felt powerless and abandoned. "I spent most of my childhood not being in touch with my feelings and not expressing them" she says "because it was never safe". Ever since she was a little girl, Rose has been searching unsuccessfully for 'the perfect traditional home'-pursuing doggedly the white picket fence. I asked her if, growing up, she had a place she considered as home.

> "Vancouver always stayed my home" she said. "The place. The city. There was so much chaos with the family, there was never any stability with the places I lived in... my only stability was my mother's job. She had the restaurant in the Post Office. So from a very young age, if I had, let's say, a doctor's appointment, I had to go to the cafeteria and my mother would take me to the appointment. It was the meeting place, the place that I learnt how to get everywhere else in the city from. So downtown Vancouver was my home. The buildings were my home... the buildings were my friends, because the buildings stayed. I could trust them because they never changed, they were always the same buildings....and they never hurt me. So I could walk around the street and I knew every shop... it took me years to figure it out. I wasn't aware of it as a kid and when I finally realized it as an adult it felt terribly sad to me: that the only place that felt safe were the goddamn buildings. But the reality was that that's how it was, that I would get a sense of comfort, safety, security and stability only there. It was very comforting for me to walk down Granville street and to know all of the stores, or Georgia street, or Burrard... they were just there... I loved Vancouver, I loved the city. The city was safe and it was mine and I had a

sense of power within that city, because I knew how to get around".

Some of the main points in Rose's account, regarding home and center are:

Home and center are associated with a stable, safe and enduring base, with stable points of reference, in other words- anchors which enable one to situate and identify one's self. Stability and continuity provide a sense of comfort and a sense of orientation, control and predictability. Said a woman from Nicaragua, who lived in Managua during the shattering earthquake:

> "Nothing happened to my house, it remained intact, but the city where I grew up just disappeared. And my physical recognition of space, my place, was that city which was just gone, completely destroyed. It was not there any more. It was never rebuilt... houses, even streets just disappeared. The boulevards...everything I knew- the whole downtown disappeared. And that was home. In fact, I shouldn't say that was home, I should say that was part of home, because there were other parts of home, like my family, which were intact, and my friends were all alive...but if I wanted to see my friends, I wouldn't go to the same place anymore, I would have to go to another place...".

The kind of safety discussed in the accounts above is not an 'objective' safety. Similarly, people in Bosnia or in the West Bank do not talk about 'objective' safety when they refer to their place of residence as 'home'. It is psychological safety, a sense developed from an intimate knowledge of a place -knowledge as a result of dwelling. For some immigrants Edmonton might feel less safe than a volcano's mouth.

> "In El Salvador I had many fears and many painful moments and they were very hard", said a woman who arrived here as a refugee "but even when it was very difficult, even when it was very ugly, even if it was chaotic it was mine, it was familiar. I learnt how to function in that chaos, in that impredictability, with the power shortages and with no water and the black outs and the shootings in the streets, and even with the earthquakes".

Another point illustrated by Rose's account is what I call Home in the body or the sensation of home. More than one participant described home as a pulse, as a rhythm, as a resonance between body and environment.

Like Moira, Rose feels her home. She feels the place and describes her anchors in Vancouver in an explicit bodily manner. She feels the land, is invigorated and nurtured by the salty air. The fact that Moira was born in New Zealand and Rose in Vancouver matters little when a sense of home is the issue. People might feel out of home, in exile, in their own country- on a bodily level (and on other levels as well). Even in a small place like Israel, someone might feel out of place, out of home, moving from the blue and green Galilee to Dimona, a development town in the Negev Desert. Michal Amir (Yedioth Aharonot,1993) was forced to make this move as a child:

> "The green and the blue of the sea started disappearing gradually and we entered an infinity of brown and yellow. With each centimenter my feeling became heavier and heavier, like a load on my heart. After several hours of driving we arrived at a yellow place, without a single tree, with few brick houses and few Bedouin tents. We arrived and they told us "This is your home". I did not accept it. I could not accept this miserable replacement for the wonderful home I had in Ginosar (a Kibbutz near the sea of Galilee). I wanted to hear birds singing, but I could hear only silence. I hated the desert, it didn't talk to me...

As a teenager Amir left her immediate family in Dimona, and returned by herself to the northern part of Israel, where she resides today.

And Arik Ainstein, a prominent Israeli singer\songwriter reflects in one of his songs: "Sitting in San Francisco Bay, 'cleansing' my eyes with Blue and Green (and it feels great). Why, then, do I suddenly feel remote, far away?"The obvious answer is: because blue and green are not his anchors. They are not taken for granted. They emphasize non home, the remoteness of the present experience from home (a place which Ainstein refers to, in this song as 'the swamp', or 'the quagmire').

Canada, with its impressive variety of landscapes and cultures as well as with its regional pride (see Baer, Grabb and Johnston,1993)[10] 'offers' many opportunities for Canadians to feel far away from home in their own country:

> "I love Edmonton" Rose says, "but the entire period I have been away from the coast (twenty four years), I felt in exile. This is not where I want to be. Vancouver is still the place I feel best. It's the place, not the people. Certainly other places have been better to me in terms of people, but I don't physically feel good, I feel disconnected. In Vancouver it's how I feel when I'm there. I feel strong, free and playful. I think it is a general quality around the climate and the landscape. It has less to do even with the city itself, because it is not the same city anymore. Many of the buildings that were my home are gone now".
> "All of my friends who grew up by the sea want to go back to the sea" she continues"...In fact when I think about it, many of my friends who come from small town Alberta miss being on the prairie and the sound of the wind going through the wheat ....And when I talk to them they say they feel they are in exile...so go figure."

Pete McMartin (Edmonton Journal,1993), who identifies himself as "an expatriate in my own country" left his home in Windsor, Ont. in 1976, and took a job in Vancouver, B.C:

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[10] The Canadian population is highly sensitized to regional differences (see Elkins and Simeon,1980). Canadians do indeed think of the country in regional terms. As well, there is a significant support for and identification with provincial governments as compared with Ottawa. Only citizens in Ontario, together with the "hostage groups": Frech Canadians outside Quebec and Anglos inside Quebec appear, by 1974, to attach greater weight to Ottawa. "Each of the provinces constitues a "small world" within the wider context of Canada as a subcontinental nation".

> Like the ten blind men who touch the trunk or tail or belly of an elephant and report quite different animals, Canadians are in touch with different parts of Canada and they report what they know. Each report, not surprisingly, is unique...(Elkins and Simeon,1980:13)

Elkins and Simeon also argue that successful federations, by their structure, require and encourage multiple identities and loyalties.

> "Paticularistic identities are nurtured within a context provided by the nation as a whole. It is not even necessary that all people or groups share the same images of that whole within which they are unique parts" (p.35)

> "The physical landscape was so radically changed from what I was used to in Ontario that for years it left me at times depressed, disoriented, agog. The very air felt alien...the closeness of the mountains made me claustrophobic...".

McMartin discovered that people who had moved from Ontario to B.C.miss country roads- there are simply no back, country roads in British Columbia. Vancouver's landscape overwhelmed McMartin's brother and left him uncomfortable. "Everything is too big" he complained, " I get lost in it. The mountains, the trees, the sea. It's beautiful, but I can't relate to it".

"...After 17 years you acclimatize..."McMartin concedes, "But never completely. You carry home in your heart, but you also carry it in your nose, and your mouth and your skin. It is as if you are more than affected by the geography of a place- you are the geography of a place. I can't get Windsor out of my system".

One of the participants in this study, an Israeli with an Israeli tendency to over-dramatization claimed: "Home is like cancer, I can't get Israel out of my system".

There is a phrase in Hebrew-"Haadamhoo tavnit nof moladto"- A person is (molded in) the cast of his birthplace, a person is a reflection of the landscape of his birthplace or homeland. I think the person who coined the phrase was thinking about home and the way one carries home in one's body, the link between mind and body that cannot be denied.

The last point I wanted to discuss in Rose's account is her distinction between "home"and "true home", or "heart home". Rose grew up in an orphanage and refers to it as "home",but when asked "was it really your home",responds with a resounding "no,of course not. It was just a place where I lived". What "qualifies" the orphanage as a "home" is the fact it was used as a base for daily routines or habits. The child woke up and went to bed at that place. Daily routines stabilized the world for her and in a sense protected her from normlessness and meaninglessness. But a daily routine is not sufficient in order to transfer, to elevate a mere place to a 'home' status.

Rose did not belong in the orphanage[11]. She will never consider it as a true home for she did not love and was not loved there. An orphanage is not associated with love and acceptance, in fact it is dissociated from both. Therefore, it shall never be considered as home. For home is where one is wanted, claimed and unconditionally accepted and loved[12]. Belonging means the absence of qualifications. Later on, we shall see how significant this issue is for Israeli immigrants. 'Home is the place where, when you have to go there, They have to take you in... I should have called it something you somehow haven't to deserve' writes Robert Frost in "Death of the Hired Man".

"The Kibbutz is not a real home" said one of the participants in this study. Omri left his Kibbutz when he was 21 and when he wished to return, he found out the Kibbutz would not take him back unconditionally. "They had to take me without any questions" he demanded "have you ever heard of a tree who refuses to take back one of it's branches? But the Kibbutz today is not home anymore, it is an economical entity". Economy, qualifications and calculation, then, stand in contrast to a real, true home. The nature of relationships is qualitatively different[13]. As we shall see, most Israeli immigrants do not consider Canada home. Their attitude is related to the nature of the relationships between Israelis and the host country- they consider it more in terms of economic exchange and less in terms of belonging.

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[11]. Like "Home", "Belonging" also has a tendency to be indiscriminatorily overused. A friend related the following story which illustrates the point:

"I was once introduced to a woman who lives in Slave Lake, Alberta. She told me the average temperature in Winter is a bit lower than Novosibirsk. We were sitting on the beach in Belize and the woman said "I love the weather here. It suits me. So maybe I belong here". A minute later she was complaining about how her vacation was almost ruined because she couldn't participate in her granddaughter's birthday party".

[12] Home also has a strong significance of warmth. People are invited to house warming- not to a home warming- because home is already warm- warmth is a pre-requisite for a home.

One of the significant aspects in the creation of home is the presence of what Heidegger (see Tiryakian,1964) calls 'Projects of care'. Not only children qualify as projects of care. Pets or house plants are also alive, create warmth and require stepping out of one's self, involvement and investment.

The creation of home involves, then, some form of exchange, and ownership. "I have a new home right now and I would say that it is a much nicer home than what I had before" said a survivor of the Buffalo Creek flood (Erikson,1976:231):

> "But it is a house, it is not a home. Before, I had a home. And what I mean by that, I built the other home. I took a coal company house; I remodelled it; I did the work on it myself. I put many a drop of sweat and drove many a nail into it, and I laboured and sweated and worried over it.

And an Israeli participant reflected on his experience:

> "In my old house, in Haifa, I used to do everything myself. I never hired anyone to paint it, or to do the garden- I did it myself. And it made it more mine. It made it more home".

To summarize, Home is a center. An ideal, a true home, a heart home is where the main cluster of affection is, a center where one opens up and is capable of giving and receiving love. Home is an ability to connect. Whenever a person finds himself in that position, or capability, s\he will call the place a home- it will feel like home. It does not have to be only in one place. Exactly as one can love more than one person, there is more than one place one can call home. A problem arises, however, if love for two places is framed and understood in terms of dual loyalties.

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[13]. Fifty percent of immigrants to Canada are admitted on family reunification grounds. Recently, it was announced that the criteria are to become more economic. In addition, knowledge of English or French is going to provide additional points. The government's rational is to "assimilate" those immigrants faster (Globe and Mail, 1.11.94).

The Reform Party demands reducing immigration rates from 250 to 150,000 immigrants a year, claiming 'assimilation' is not rapid enough.

From home in the body, landscape and relationships, the inner cycles of model #2, I now turn to the outer cycle: home in culture and home in nation.

The little home is the Earth part in (home is the meeting of) Heaven and Earth. The Heaven part is transcendence and symbolic immortality.

The little home makes us feel SPECIAL. At the little home we make a difference, we are safe heroes[14]. In the BIG HOME we find the framework, we find the meaning. The BIG HOME IS THE ULTIMATE RESCUER. It is interesting to note that what Yalom (1980) terms Specialness and The Ultimate Rescuer are two basic defenses against death anxiety[15]. And while Yalom argues the two defenses constitute a dialectic- two diametrically opposed modes of facing the human situation, they nevertheless converge at HOME.

Human beings, according to Ernst Becker (1973), try to transcend death through "continuing" or mattering or leaving something of themselves behind:

> Man transcends death not only by continuing to feed his appetites... but especially by finding a meaning for his life, some kind of larger scheme into which he fits...It is an expression of the will to live, the burning desire of the creature to count, to make a difference on the planet because he has lived...(emphasis added)[16]

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[14] . A term coined by Ernst Becker. Becker argues that we need to be heroes, to stand out, to make a difference and to be immortal. However, we also need a sense of security, a sense of fusion with transcendence entity.
So whenever someone says: "My home is in my mother's eyes, I think what he is actually saying is: "Every time I look into my mother's eyes, I feel like a safe hero".

[15] . "The human being either fuses or separates, embeds or emerges" writes Yalom (1980:116) "He affirms his autonomy by ... standing out or seeks safety by merging with another force".

[16] . Quote taken from Yalom (1980:465).
Becker maintains that "Each society (and culture) is a (codified) hero system (and a succession of immortality ideologies), which promises victory over evil and death... cultures are fundamentally and basically styles of heroic death denial" (1973:124-125).

As shall be argued in the next chapter, in the modern nation- state, and particularly in cultures with revolutionary ethos, citizens are provided with sense of protection, a sense of specialness and a sense of meaning. Members of modern nation-states are (supposedly) safe heroes.

A discussion on Identification theory, Ideology and National Identity is required here. As we shall see, for most Israelis home equals national identity. Home, for most Israelis, is always THE BIG HOME.

IDENTIFICATION THEORY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

A) Identification Theory, based on Erikson's work, is a psychological theory which states that:

> In order to achieve psychological security, every individual possesses an inherent drive to internalise-to identify with-the behavior, mores and attitudes of significant figures in her\his social environment; i.e. people actively seek identity.
> Moreover, every human being has an inherent drive to enhance and to protect the identifications he or she has made; i.e. people actively seek to enhance and protect identity (1959:40).

In his work Erikson demonstrates the crucial nature of satisfactory identification for personality integration and stability. He makes clear the fundamental importance of identity in the health of the individual and demonstrates its dynamic adaptive quality from infancy through to old age. It was Erikson who was chiefly responsible for making the concepts of identity and identity crisis key issues for contemporary social theory.

Inasmuch as every identification is made with an external social actor, identification is, of course, a social act as much as a private psychological one. It is, therefore a concept as crucial to sociologists and social theorists as it is to psychologists. Since Durkheim, a central concept in sociology has been that the solidarity, the 'glue' of any social system is to some degree based on the fact that individuals internalise their society's values, norms and accepted patterns of behavior.

B. National Identity

Freud (see Bloom, 1990:30) maintains that the super-ego of a member of a society shares common identifications with the super ego of other members of that society. "Given the same environmental circumstances", maintains Bloom (1990:34) "There will be a tendency for a group of individuals to make the same identification, to internalise the same identity".

Discussing ideology, Erikson comments (1959:142):

> "We are speaking here not merely of high privileges and lofty ideals but of psychological necessities. For the social institution which is the guardian of identity is what we have called ideology.
> Whatever else ideology is and whatever transitory or lasting social form it takes... we will view it here as a necessity for the growing ego which is involved in the succession of generations and in adolescence is committed to some new synthesis of past and future: a synthesis which must include but transcend the past.

Bloom (1990) notes that in his exposition of ideology as a psychological necessity Erikson recognised in a Durkheimian sense how society has institutionalised the individual's needs and appropriated them to serve society itself:

> Thus, identity and ideology are two aspects of the same process. Both provide the necessary condition for further individual maturation and, with it, for the next higher form of identification, namely the solidarity linking common identities (Erikson,1959:157)

Ideology, then, takes on a specific psychological meaning as that generalised identification which is a prerequisite for an 'adult' participation in society. For Erikson, at a psychological level of analysis, there is a clear continuum between identity, ideology and culture.

Erikson also states that:

1. The individual will seek to protect and enhance her\his sense of identity. As with the gratification of hunger or the sexual instinct there is a drive to protect and enhance identity.

2. The lack of a secure personal identity is experienced as a threat to survival and is felt as anxiety. Identification, as well as being the initial mechanism for the creation of social identity and the assurance of social survival, is also an ongoing and dynamic adaptive mechanism to changes in the life situation that threaten identity. Without this adaptation, there would be ongoing anxiety.

Csepeli (1982:377) describes national socialization as a development in the cognitive map of the world and the individual in terms of the national ingroup and outgroups. The development of this map in the child is due to the nurturing of a national ideology, which excludes any other alternative of the sense of national belonging.

A CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF ISRAEL

One of the themes of this work is feeling, or being at home in a culture. I shall now try and demonstrate what it means to feel at home, to be immersed in Israeli culture, the only culture I've felt at home in. It may become obvious why I submit that functioning, even functioning well in a culture, is not synonymous with feeling or being at home. Functioning and belonging, in fact, are of two separate content worlds (or frames of reference). "Our truest reality is expressed in the way we cross over from one place to another. We are migrants and perhaps hybrids, in but not of any situation in which we find ourselves", writes Edward Said (see Rushdie,1991) when he tries to convey the meaning of being a Palestinian. Being at home in a culture is being of the situation. It is understanding the intricacies of the language, including, of course, humour; following a conversation without an effort, recognizing the menu in a restaurant. In other words, home and belonging mean on the one hand taking the world for granted, not thinking about it, not feeling a 'divider' between self and environment, and on the other hand identifying with ultimate symbols of culture and nation, which emphasize continuity, indeed symbolic immortality.

"When I am in Israel" explained one of the participants "no one can take advantage of me" (indeed a very important element for an Israeli). "I know what the whole thing is about. Here, I can't follow a conversation. I don't understand the jokes. Last week I had to appear in court and couldn't explain myself to the judge. At least not in a satisfactory manner. It could never have happened in Israel". The participant, it should be noted, speaks perfect English, publishes academic papers in English and works professionally with English speaking clients.

Read the following list. See what you understand from it.

1.Hagashash hahiver

2.Le'echol avatihim al hatayelet, mool hayam

3.Chapha

4.Yom shishi aharei haztohoraim

5.Haztfira beyom hazikaron

6.Mangal

Translation:

1. The most popular Israeli entertainment trio.

2. To eat watermelon on the promenade overlooking the sea

3. A friendly salutation expressed as a smack on the back

4. Friday afternoon

5. The siren on commemoration day

6. The Israeli version of a barbecue

Most Sabras will immediately associate the above list with Israel. They don't just understand it, they know it. They have a first hand experience of the gestalt in which these objects and concepts operate. These are their anchors- what signifies to them they are home, as do objects such as the burnt vehicles on the way to Jerusalem (a remnant and a reminder of the war of independence), the national anthem, the flag or the taste of hummous in a specific restaurant. This is what they miss when they are out of home. I shall be submitting shortly that the word bait- the Hebrew word for home, can also be considered as a powerful anchor.

I find the attempt to convey the essence of Israeli culture to an outsider futile, if not pathetic. Language is such a strong anchor i.e., the event or the feeling is so interrelated and intermingled, so dependent on the 'means of transportation' (the language), that part of the 'load', a crucial portion of the meaning is lost in any language which is not Hebrew. The events, feelings, moods and situations 'belong' in Hebrew. They can be fully grasped only in that language and only by someone who has experienced them. When you have to explain what these things mean, the feeling is already gone. As Israelis will say 'ze lo ze'- this is not it. In fact, written in English the expression itself- ze lo ze- seems out of place. It does not belong in English. Ze lo ze is not it in English. The flavour has changed. In fact- the flavour has been negated. The expression has become dull and pale when it is taken out of context.

Can a rhythm be delivered? Can a gestalt be conveyed?

"Each place has its own pulse" noted an Israeli expatriate, who knows intimately more than one culture, "and Israel has a very unique, recognizable, distinct pulse. And this pulse becomes your pulse. It is like a clock- In Israel your internal clock and the big clock tick together. Here, your clock does not stop ticking, but it is not synchronized with the bigger clock, it is always half a tick ahead, or late...".

Israelis themselves, forever grappling with issues of identity try (unsuccessfully) to understand the essence of Israeliness. Author Yizhak Livni said (Hadashot,1989):

> "Israeliness is almost similar, (though not identical), to my feeling of myself. My internal air, the air inside of me, is similar to the air of Israel and not similar, let's

> say, to the air of New York, whom I truly love. It is the air of an apartment where I had lived when I was a child, in Tel Aviv, of a certain street in that city, and Israel in general".

The parts of a culture, which Giorgi (1985) terms constituents are context laden, in other words receive their meaning from the gestalt, from the context. But, as Million (1993) notes, a part is more than a mere dependent- it also informs the totality by virtue of belonging, of being in relationship with other parts. "Atotality" writes Million (1993:24), "is simultaneously constituted by and revealed in each constituent".

The Israeli gestalt is best described in terms of Chulent, the Jewish soul food, a dish comprised of assorted beans, eggs, meat, potatoes and intestines, thrown together in a pot and cooked overnight. The result is an undescribable dish, always warm and filling, sometimes sticky, in which the original ingredients are rarely recognizable.

What I am trying to illustrate is that Israel is a very complex place. Myth and reality mesh, past and present intermingle, facts and fiction intertwine and daily life is loaded, saturated, infused and burdened by historical meaning [17] "We are all Polish, even if we arrived from Morocco" noted an Israeli participant. He was referring not to Israeli dominant cultural values but to what Gershon Shaked (Yediot Aharonot,1992) calls "the enormous powers of the memory"- especially the memory of the holocaust. Israel is a community of memory and Israelis are constantly warned not to forget.

> "People growing up in communities of memory not only hear the stories that tell how the community came to be, what it's hopes and fears are, and how it's ideas are exemplified in outstanding men and women; they also participate in the practices- ritual, aesthetic, ethical- that define the community as a way of life. We call these "practices of commitment" for they define the patterns of loyalty and obligation that keep the community alive" (Bellah et.al. 1986:154).[18]

Memory is manifested in all facets of life. For example, Israelis do not simply communicate- they speak Hebrew, an ancient language revived after a long period of dormancy. The poet Yehuda Amichai related a story about his young daughter who complained that her ball 'disappeared in the cave outside'. Amichai, who lives in Jerusalem, realized that 'the cave' was Herods' grave. When the Syrian army invaded the Golan Height in October 1973 and the northern part of Israel was in jeopardy, it was not regarded by Moshe Dayan, then the Israeli defence minister as basically a military situation but "the (possible) destruction of the third temple". The prevailing cultural themes, the sacred myths, objects and rituals, in a word- the components of what Robert Bellah (1980) calls civil religion are characteristically infused with death, suffering, commitment to the community, sacrifice, victory and rebirth (see Liebman and Don Yheiya,1983).

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[17] . Elon (1994:18) refers to it as "the oppressive proximity of things, the way they overhang and overlap. The mirroring of past and present"

[18] . See also Kanter's discussion regarding commitment mechanisms in Utopian Communities (1968:499-517).

My own name can be used to demonstrate this point. My first name, Ilan, means a tree. Although the word appears in the bible it was not used as a boy's name until after the foundation of the state of Israel. It is an Israeli name. My second name is Nathan, after my father's youngest brother who died in the holocaust. It is a Jewish name, connecting me to the legacy of my immediate family which is intertwined in the history of the Jewish people in Europe.

What follows is an attempt for Chulent deconstruction. In other words: I shall try to explain some basic tenets of Israeli culture and the messages conveyed by the education system. This is what every Sabra knows. I am not trying to convey a feeling. I am not trying to immerse you in the culture or to explain the specific anchors; this is not possible.

MYTHOLOGICALCENTER, SOCIOLOGICAL CENTER

Eretz (the land of) Israel is not just the land of milk and honey. It has important symbolic, mythical qualities. "...The symbol, the myth and the image are of the very substance of the spiritual life..." writes Mircea Eliade (1961:11). "They may become disguised, mutilated or degraded, but are never extirpated". Israel, the particular physical place, as well as the nation- state are the CENTER.

According to Eliade (1954, 1974, 1986) every microcosm, every inhabited region, has what may be called a "Centre";that is to say a place that is sacred above all. It is there, in that Centre, that the sacred manifests itself in its totality. Not only temples that were thought to be situated at the "Centre of the World",but every holy place, every place that bore witness to an incursion of the sacred into profane space, was also regarded as a 'Centre'"(see also Durkheim, 1960).

"...Every human being tends, even unconsciously, towards the Centre" writes Eliade (1954:19), "Andtowards his own centre, where he can find integral reality-sacredness. This desire, so deeply rooted in man, to find himself at the very heart of the real- at the Centre of the World, the place of communication with Heaven- explains the ubiquitous use of "Centres of the World".

Eliade claims that human beings can live only in a sacred space, in the "Centre".He writes about "the nostalgia for Paradise"- the desire to find oneself always and without effort in the Centre of the World, at the heart of reality; by a short cut and in a natural manner to transcend the human condition. He also claims (1954) that a number of ritual approaches to a Centre are equivalent to a conquest of immortality.

> "What we have here" he writes (1954:16) "Is a mythic geography, the only kind effectually real, as opposed to profane geography, the latter being...abstract and non-essential... In this mythical geography, (in this sacred space) one has direct contact with the sacred. In cultures that have the conception of three cosmic regions- those of Heaven, Earth and Hell, the "Centre"constitutes the point of intersection of those regions. It is here that the break-through on to another plane is possible, and at the same time communication between the three regions is possible. The rupture of the planes is not possible anywhere else".

The most widely distributed variant of the symbolism of the Centre is the Cosmic Tree, situated in the middle of the Universe. The roots of this Cosmic tree plunge down into Hell and it's branches reached to Heaven. The three cosmic regions are connected by the tree, and communication between Heaven and Earth becomes possible by means of this pillar. The bridge, or ladder between Heaven and Earth were possible because they were set up in a Centre of the World- like the ladder seen in a dream by Jacob which reached from earth to the heavens and on which the angels of God were ascending and descending. "In sacred space man is able to communicate with the other world, the world of divine beings or ancestors" writes Eliade (1974:107).

"The holy one created the world like an Embryo" claims a Rabbinical text, "as an embryo proceeds from the navel onward, so God began the creation of the world from its naval onward, and from thence it spread in different directions". "The world was created, beginning at Zion" says another text, "Eretz Israel is located at the navel of the world- it's centre. The same way the naval is located in the middle of the individual person, Eretz Israel is located in the middle of the world and is the source (the base, the origin) of the world".Some say it is not the physical center but the spiritual one (Talmudic Encyclopedia: 232). "Theland of Israel, the highest place on earth was not submerged by the Deluge" says a rabbinical text (Eliade, 1961:42).

Another type of center is the "Shilsian" center. According to Greenfeld and Martin (1988) the Shilsian "Center" has a twofold meaning: The first belongs to the sphere of values. "It is a metaphor which stands for what is of core importance in the value system of a society, the irreducible critical elements of this system. Another term for "center in this sense is "central value system. It refers to the...values and beliefs that establish the identity of individuals and bind them into a common universe" (p.4). In the second sense "center" means "central institutional system". "Center"in this second sense has the connotation of a physical, spatial concentration which "central value system" lacks. "In nationality" Greenfield and Martin argue (p.11) "The boundaries of a collectivity are incorporated into the core value system; the two coincide. The world outside the group to which the values apply has no relevance, it is meaningless and holds no promise for the individual who shares these values..." Religion, according to Greenfield and Martin, can best serve as a center "Whereit is connected to an element that both divides the group from other groups and unites it from within, and which is, therefore, boundary-and identity generating, for example a political entity or a territory" (p.15).

Shils (1988) argues that the members of the centers conceive of themselves in those terms..."Regardless of whether they are specialized and even if they are apparently isolated from each other or are in conflict with each other, they regard themselves as participants in a center" (p.252). Shils also maintains (p.255) that:

> "Long enduring societies believe that they were a distinctive center in the past and that they are now better by virtue of that. If they can point to a dynasty or a body of ideas or a sacred book, a body of laws or a constitution, ...their legitimacy or virtue is confirmed in their own minds ...The continuity is not the equal continuity of all sectors of society but is the continuity of a central line".

Werblowsky (1988) maintains that the ideological and\or descriptive claim is that with the establishment of the State of Israel "The latter is not only at the center of the central value system but is actually also the center of social and cultural orientation of diaspora Jewry"(1988:49).

The land, the soil of Israel acquires special meaning in Israeli culture. "This holy and crazy land", writes Israeli novelist Meir Shalev (Yediot Aharonot,1990), "wherethe soil is poisoned with holy sites, fathers' graves, lies, bones and memories". A.B. Yehoshua, another prominent Israeli author, commented (Yediot America,1993) that until the foundation of the modern state of Israel, God used to be the father, the land used to be the mother, and the people of Israel-the son. With Zionism, claims Yehoshua, the land- the mother, became more important than the father- especially amongst secular Jews, (the majority of Israeli population). Most Israeli holidays (Tu Bishvat, Passover, Shavuot), manifest and emphasize the special connection and attachment of the people to the land. Rabi Einat Ramon argues (Yediot America,1993) that most Israeli Jews are not really secular, but observe a religion which worships the land.

SHIOOR IVRIT (A HEBREW LESSON)

Moledet- Where one is born. Homeland. The term has strong connotations of attachment.

Dira- A flat. Connotation of temporary dwelling.

Bai't- Could be a house, but most commonly used as a home, with strong connotation of belonging- for example bai't leumi (national home), or bai't ruhani (spiritual home).

Ha'baita- Going back, returning home.

Beit Hamikdash- The holy temple

Beit Olamo- His grave. Where one is going to dwell eternally.

L'(ha)'Aretz, B'(ha)'aretz- To Israel. In Israel. The vowel Ha signifies the uniqueness of the place, the fact that there is only one such place. There is a strong implication of designation and exlusivity.

Huzt La'aretz- Abroad. Outside the 'marked', specified and unique place Israel is.

ISRAEL- THE CENTER AS HOME

Israel is where the roots are[19], where the people of Israel were planted by God. It is the historical, spiritual and cultural home of the Jews, the only place where they can be themselves, as individuals and as a nation, after being 'guests' at other places- where all the concentric cycles are present and interact harmoniously. "It is good to have people over at your home, not constantly being a guest", commented Borochov (See Elon,1981), one of

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[19] As Elon (1994) notes archaeological finds have inspired nearly all Israeli national symbols, from the State Seal to medals, to coins and postage stamps.

Zionism's founding fathers. "Without this little big man (David Ben Gurion- the founder of the modern state of Israel) we could have never lived as human beings", sing Shlomo Gronich and Matti Caspi (1975). Israel is perceived as an inevitable, irreplaceable center, with which the Jews have an exclusive relationship, and where God has exclusive relationships with his chosen people: Israel was Abraham's, the Jewish nation's founding father's designated destination, when he left his home following God's order[20]. "Due to historical holocaust (the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans) I was born in a small town in the diaspora" said S.Y. Agnon upon receiving the Nobel Prize for literature "but I always considered, (or viewed) myself as someone who was born in Jerusalem" (Elon:1981). And the Israeli songwriter Ehud Manor wrote: "I don't have any other place to go, even if the soil under my feet is burning".

The bulk of Jewish history is presented in the national discourse in terms of moratorium, caused by a removal from the center[21]. As if the Jew can be fully centered,

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[20]. As did Ruth Hamoaviya (from Moab), the founding mother of the Jewish nation. As Alter and Kermode (1987) note, both Abraham and Ruth came from a foreign country to the east to settle in the Promised Land. In addition, God's very first word to Abraham, lekh, (go), is a key word in Ruth's story. "Again and again we are reminded that her "going" from Moab, is, paradoxically, a "returning" to a land she has never before seen, a return because it is now by choice her land..." (p.14)

[21]. In a recent article Amos Elon (1994) examines the relationship between archaeology and politics in the modern state of Israel. Elon relates a story regarding Lipa Sukenik, a prominent Jewish archaeologist and the father of Yigael Yadin, who excavated Masada. "In Sukenik's view", Elon writes "Jewish history during the past eighteen centuries was only an insignificant interval between national independence lost in the first century and national independence to be regained in the twentieth". (p.14).

In Israel, Elon notes "archaeology is a national syndrome, a popular craze... a mania resulting from prolonged hunger... in an immigrant country, among a hybrid people from over a hundred countries of origin, the cult of archaeology reflected an obsessive search for common roots" (p.16). The author contends that archaeology often converged with nationalism in the new nation states created in Europe after the great war, "but perhaps nowhere else did archaeology loom so large, or for so long, as in Israeli life until the early Seventies" (p.18). "The apparent obsession with ancient Jewish sites and artifacts" Elon argues, "grew out of the feverish search for identity-a secular live a full life, only in the particular geographical center. As if until the foundation of the state Jews had been living partial lives, residing in places where they did not belong (later, the concept of partial home will be introduced). They were never fully centered in terms of historical continuity, and were always reminded they ought to be somewhere else. Life in the diaspora 'did not really count'- until they came home, to the center- where real, meaningful life resumes. The holocaust was the ultimate manifestation of non belonging [22].

One of the most common Israeli introductions is "and now, after 2,000 years..."(the aforementioned national poet, H.N.Bialik commented that after 2,000 years he was longing

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identity. The Dead Sea scrolls thrilled secular Israelis; most orthodox Jews were and still are indifferent to them (p.17).

[22]. The holocaust, the most tragic event in Jewish history, is the primary political myth of Israeli society, the symbol of Israel's present condition and the one which provides Israel with legitimacy and the right to its land (Liebman and Don Yehia,1983; Elon,1981). To a great extent, the Holocaust fashions Israelis' national consciousness and the way in which they understand themselves and the world in which they live. Its memory is omnipresent in Israeli society, cutting across differences in age, education and even country of origin.

The holocaust holds lessons for most Israelis beyond the pain, beyond the physical and psychological scars it left on those who were Nazi victims themselves and even any of those who vicariously experienced victimization. "In this sense" write Liebman and Don Yehia (1983:138-142) "The Holocaust itself is a symbol. The Holocaust can point to the possibility of evil or the reality of evil. It can suggest that we must guard against the aberration of Nazism, or that in a crisis the world will not rescue Jews in mortal peril. It can point to the world's indifference to the murder of Jews... it can be understood as a demonstration of Jewish helplessness in the Diaspora the consequent importance of "Jewish power", which the State of Israel represents".

The symbol that relates the Holocaust to Israel's self-perception, and to the Jewish tradition's perception of Judaism's eternal condition, is the biblical phrase "a people that dwells alone" (Numbers 23:9). In the biblical story, the non-Jewish seer, Balaam, uses this phrase to describe the Israelites he sees encamped before him in the desert. The phrase is generally understood as the expression of a condition imposed upon Israel by the nations of the world, a condition willingly accepted by Israel because of its own superior virtues (the Jewish emancipation of the eighteenth century was an exception, and, in any case, failed). The Holocaust is itself the symbol of Jewish history and the Jewish people, denoting the tragedy that may befall a people that dwells alone.

Liebman and Don Yehia (1983) note that the image of a naturally hostile non-Jewish world was rejected by leaders of the Yishuv (the pre-state community) and the founders of the state. Zionism arose partly as a plan to resolve the problem of anti-semitism. Non-Jews hated Jews, it was presumed, not because there was something innately wrong with non-Jews or Jews but because of the Jews' condition of homelessness.

for the first Jewish cop and the first Jewish prostitute)- as if those 2,000 years were just an "in between" period, as if this period did not really matter, did not, in the final analysis count or leave any residue (see also Ben Yehuda, 1981). As if nothing meaningful was created or achieved in those 2,000 years- they were just an introduction to real life- life at home. The majority of immigrants refer to their arrival at Israel as 'returning home'. Upon arrival, some of them kiss the land. It is as if these people had been removed from the center, from their own center and now at last have the opportunity to unite their bodies with their souls, able to physically unite with this center which always existed inside them. The Zionist ideology maintains that the Jew is centered i.e., himself, with a clear perception of past, present and future, only within the physical boundaries of the state of Israel.

Living in Israel carries additional existential meanings, in terms of self fulfillment and a special role to play. There is presumably a qualitative difference between living in Israel and in the rest of the world. Those who choose to leave are termed "yordim", those who left, those who descended- who remove themselves from the essence. The term has strong moral, existential and even metaphysical implications (one cannot avoid thinking: where did they descend to?). Gershon Shaked (Yediot Aharonot, 1992) implies that leaving Israel carries some similarities to committing suicide[23] .

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[23]. The Talmud compares leaving Eretz Israel in peaceful times to an act of religious conversion, to worshiping another God. Some mitzvot- religious acts believers are required to do- can be followed only within the geographical boundaries of Israel. "This land is special for God, which called it 'My Land, or My Country'. A person should live in Eretz Israel even in a city populated mostly by non- Jews and not live abroad, even in a city populated mostly by Jews (Talmudic Encyclopedia: 213-215). A person who resides in Eretz Israel is considered as a person with (who has) a God, while a person who resides outside Eretz Israel is considered as a person without a God. It was said in the bible: "To give you the land of Kenaa'n to be your God".

It is a Mitzva to live in Eretz Israel- Residing there equals all the other (more than four hundred) Mitzvot in the Torah combined. Not only those who are permanent residents, but even someone who walks a short distance in Eretz Israel

The most powerful and memorable condemnation of Yerida was expressed by the Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin who once alluded to Yordim as 'Nefolet shel nemoshot'- weakly, slimey, unworthy moochers. The root of 'Nefolet' is 'To fall'. The implication is that only the strong, resolved and worthy stay. Rabin did not elaborate on causation, i.e., does the act of leaving make people who leave unworthy slimes, or do they leave because they already have a pre-disposition for sliminess. The phrase, however, became a part of the national discourse and constitutes the background against which Yordim operate. There is hardly an Israeli- yored or not- who is not aware of this phrase. Most Israeli participants in this study quoted it and some jokingly even referred to themselves in those terms.

In contrast, those who come and live in Israel are "olim", those who ascend. It is a metaphysical, moral and lifestyle judgment.

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is entitled to life in 'the next world' (Haolam Haba). Women, too, have to fulfill the Mitzva of living in Eretz Israel, and so both male and female are allowed to force their spouses to move and settle there. It is forbidden to leave Eretz Israel, unless it is for the purposes of studying the Torah, getting married or rescuing someone from conversion. And then, once the goal has been achieved, one has to immediately return. It is forbidden, however, to permanently settle outside Eretz Israel, under any circumstances, even for the purpose of fulfilling the above very important Mitzvot. It is said of anyone who leaves Eretz Israel that he chose to leave his own mother's bosoms for the bosom of a foreign woman. Residing outside Eretz Israel is perceived as an act deserving punishment (for example inability to procreate).

ISRAEL: SOME CHARACTERISTICSOF THE CENTER AND HOME

Israel, then is the center. A center which is home. The one, the only home.

The modern nation state of Israel[24] captured, capitalized and utilized the symbol of the centre. It is a center which provides everything from shelter and protection to meaning and transcendence. "The Jew is like a rain worm cut up to three parts" noted the Jewish German author Leo Perotz (Yediot Aharonot,1991). "The third part moans, grovels and complains, but entrenches itself in the ground and continues living".The state of Israel was created to take care of people like Perotz.

Two extreme manifestations of the shelter dimension, composing the sharpest

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[24] . The most basic of the nation-state's assumptions is that nations require states in order to concretely express their ethno-cultural uniqueness (Susser and Don Yehia,1994). In its classical self-understanding, the nation-state idea ties one nation to one state... the nationalist doctrine "divides humanity into separate and distinct nations and claims that such nations must constitute sovereign states".

In its simplest sense, nationhood is a limiting concept; it excludes the alien (See Ignatieff,1993; Saram,1993)

"In declaring that 'Israel is the state of the Jewish people' what is being claimed is that a state ought to represent a nation. And a nation is a distinct and delimited cultural-historical unit that, by definition, excludes non-nationals. Nationhood describes a fraternity closed to non-members", write Susser and Don Yehiya (1994:190). They also claim that among Western democracies Israel stands out in its continued insistence on a firm and explicit bond between ethnically based nationality and statehood (See also Domingues,1989; Akenson,1991 and Elon, 1981).

Canada, in contrast, is a country which promotes Democratic Pluralism.

> Democratic pluralism applauds heterogeneity in virtually all of its possible forms: culturally, ethnically, racially, linguistically, religiously and, of course, ideologically. Rather than embodying the aspirations of a sharply defined national community, the contemporary liberal pluralist state binds different national communities into a single political entity. The state constitutes a political rather than a national community, an aggregated 'people' rather than an integrated 'nation; indeed, it transcends rather than expresses national identity. In effect, the state becomes the mediator between the various national communities that constitute the polity (Susser and Don Yehiya,1994:188).

Citizenship, rather than a bonding with the national ethos, becomes the operative criterion of membership. Belonging, in other words, is controlled by legal-formal rather than national-cultural criteria. A relatively brief and not terribly exacting naturalization procedure initiates the alien into the national community-although culturally, linguistically, etc., s\he remains unassimilated and inassimilable. There is not, nor may there legitimately be, a distinction between nationality and citizenship.

contrast in Jewish psyche are on the one hand the memory of the victims of the holocaust who died because no country in the free world was willing to accept them, and on the other the 1976 Entebbe operation, in which Israeli soldiers, dispatched from Israel rescued Israeli hostages held in Uganda. "Wecame to take you home" said the soldiers when they entered the terminal.

Sitting in a sealed room during the Gulf war (1991) the author Yossl Birgner noticed (Yediot Aharonot,1992) that many of the people who refused to run from the Scud missile attacks and stayed in Tel Aviv were immigrants or refugees "whoarrived in Israel with the decision that this is the last place of their wanderings. I witnessed first hand" Birgner continues "the staunch resistance to pack and leave again".

Another important characteristic of the center, partly demonstrated by the above incidents, is that it (center, home) can never be taken for granted. It is never fully safe and its existence never fully guaranteed. Israelis carry personal responsibility for the maintenance and well being of their center, of their home. "I want to be the child who saved the country" writes Yehuda Atlas in a children's song. Sabras, at least Sabras of my generation and the people who participated in this study, grew up with notions and awareness of personal responsibility demonstrated in children's books such as Dani Din and Hasamba, in which the child protagonist saves the day. When we grew up we had to fulfill another Israeli rite of passage- the military service. Most Israeli participants in this study participated in at least one war. Two were wounded. "I don't think I am different from any other Israeli", said Amitai who, in 1982, after living in Edmonton for almost a decade insisted on returning to Israel and joining a fighting unit in the Lebanon war.

> "I felt responsible. I felt I had to go back, I had to be a part of this...like a really strong pull...as if without me Israel will lose the war. Because it is home. I am not talking about the Kibbutz- I am talking about the state. I also thought 'My friends might get killed, my brother might get killed and here I am having the time of my life'. And of course at times like that you start thinking 'Why the hell did I leave in the first place'. I felt a huge wave of remorse".

Amitai's ex-wife told me that the only time she ever saw him crying was when he found out she hid his Israeli passport so he couldn't go to Israel and join the war.

The army, however, is not the only way Israelis feel their personal lives and public affairs run a close parallel course. One of the participants in this study was a member of the Israeli national handball team. The mother of another used to babysit for a former chief of staff. And one of the participants was present, as a soldier, on the boat which dispersed the ashes of Adolf Eichman in the Mediterranean[25]

The relationship between the Israeli and his center is dialectical. Put simply- the Israeli creates the center, his home, and is created by it. There is an exchange, indeed an investment. "Anu banu artza livnot ulehibanot ba" chanted the first Zionist pioneers- "we came to this land to build it and be built by it"- in other words-to create it and be created by it. We are going to invest ourselves and our efforts in this place, and in return we are going to gain our identity and sense of meaning in life.

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[25] . Eichman was a top Nazi official and the only person ever to be executed in Israel, after being convicted of crimes against humanity during the second world war.

Another kind of investment I want to discuss here bears some resemblance to the Japanese concept of 'on'[26], principally because it is never ending and cannot be fully repaid. It is the emotional and physical investment of two types of people. On the one hand, the emotional energy of those who longed to live in the free state of Israel but were never lucky enough to do so- not just the people who died in the pogroms and the holocaust, but Jews who could not hold their head high because they were 'guests' in other nations' homes; and on the other hand people who invested their lives- working for the Zionist project and at times physically sacrificing their lives (the ultimate investment) for the creation and maintenance of the state. For our right to live with dignity, pride and self respect: So that every one of us has a place to run if and when the Jim Keegstras and Ernst Zundels gain power. Israel gave us roots and wings so that we might fly and perhaps return again. But someone worked hard to grow those roots, and someone is still working hard in order to maintain them.

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[26]. "On" writes Ruth Benedict (1946:99) "(Is) the word for 'obligations' which covers a person's indebtedness... (it is) a load... a burden, which one carries as best one may".

The issue, then is debt- to history, to former generations and to the people who work hard in keeping the project alive. As in Japan, the newborn in Israel is already heavily indebted, a debt he can never fully re-pay. The least one can do in order to start re-paying this debt is to stay in Israel and contribute [27]. Re-paying does not necessarily mean one has to join the army permanently or erect a new settlement in the desert. Just living in Israel, participating in the project is meant to be sufficient. Army service is a rite of passage and a beginning toward payment, but it is not sufficient. Israelis who leave are in a constant state of overdraft. "My daughter is a beautiful young woman" noted an Israeli mother. "It's a shame that such a flower has to grow in the diaspora".

Some of the ways this statement can be interpreted are:

A. Only Israelis in Israel should be able to enjoy my daughter's beauty. I hold back from Israelis something they deserve.

B. Canadians receive something they do not deserve- enjoying my daughter's beauty.

C. I owe Israel. One way of repaying my debt is to enable Israelis to enjoy my daughter's beauty.

D. The flower might be beautiful, but it is incomplete since it exists out of its natural habitat- the soil of Israel.

The role model, the protagonist who personified the ultimate investment was the mythological Sabra- the young person who lived (and at times had to die) at the altar of the Zionist project, who worked for the community, answered the call and lived 'the calling'; whose ability, indeed desire, to contribute and sacrifice matched the societal needs of the day.

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[27]. "When I invest in Israel" noted a Jewish entrepreneur, "I regard it as serving in the army. You eat a lot of mud, you suffer and fight, but suffering and fighting is what being an Israeli means" (Yediot America,1993).

"I am not a yoredet" an Israeli who had been living in the state for years told Shokeid (1986). "I love Israel. But neither am I an Israeli, since I am not there when the Israelis fight and suffer".

Yordim usually refrain from criticizing Israel (at least in public and in front of non-Israelis). "I do not live there" said one of the participants in the study "I don't contribute anything, so I don't have the moral right to criticize".

The mythological Sabra (See Rubinstein, 1986) had to be tough. He had to be a Man (See Ben Yehuda,1981,1985).And since the diaspora Jew, indeed Jewishness itself was associated with passivity and femininity, the Mythological Sabras (including the women amongst them) worked hard at getting rid of their feminine side. The new Zionism prohibited the expression of any feminine traits. The role model was not the third part of Leo Perotz's worm, the Oy Vey diaspora Jew, but the fighting, non- surrendering Israeli (see also Ben Yehuda,1985). "I always felt deep contempt for diaspora Jews" noted more than one of the Israeli participants in this study.

Acceptance, letting go and particularly surrendering are considered female traits and therefore non-Israeli. Israeliness became the culture of the warrior, of men uniting with the land and fighting for it. "The holy matrimony between us (the writer and the land) is sealed in blood" proclaims a well-known Israeli folk song. The legacy of uncompromising struggle and action is the prime reason for the Gulf war being such a severe shock for Israelis. This had been a war of inaction. Israelis had to sit idle in sealed rooms, unable to do anything, stripped from any pretence of control, passively waiting for the next Scud missile to fall. They became Jews again, and it felt awful. It went against their grain.

Another part of Israeli legacy is commitment. The Sabra had to be totally committed to his Israeliness. He was an Israeli and nothing else. Not a diaspora Jew and not a Jewish

Palestinian (See Ben Yehuda,1981,1985). "People" notes Anthony Cohen (1986:213) "recognize their cultures as that which distinguishes them from others and, thereby as the source of their identities". Elik, the protagonist of the quintessential Israeli novel "Hoo halach basadot" (the unsatisfactory translation will read: "He walked in the fields") is supposed to have been "born from the sea" as if he had no personal or familial history, or even parents[28]. The mythological Sabra could not have been an Israeli and something else. He had to be an Israeli or else. This way of categorizing the world is due partly to the required total commitment to the project and is supported, if not rooted in the Jewish religion and tradition. Judaism is an either\or religion[29]. One cannot be Jewish and something else. And like Judaism, Israeliness became exclusionary. In the Israeli case Monotheism is accompanied by "Monolandism".

Many Israelis have their own model of the mythological Sabra. These people still live in Israel. "My biggest problem was with Shmulik" noted David, who decided to emigrate from Israel.

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[28]. On the other hand another mythological Sabra, Moshe Dayan, was an avid archaeologist (as was former chief of staff Yigael Yadin). Dayan, the symbol of the New Jew and a man full of contradictions "symbolized an ancient people's newly found vitality in modern times" (Elon,1994:16). Yet at home he lived "in a morbid decor, among his burial urns, funeral plaques, death offerings and sarcophagi".

[29]. The act of creation, described in Genesis, is basically an act of division (or the creation of antithetical opposition): between heaven and earth, between water and dry land. The bible is full of opposition: between garden or oasis and wasteland, promised Land and Wilderness, or, in another variant, homeland "the Lord's inheritance" and exile, Israel and the nations', the sabbath and the six days of labour and more (Alter and Kermode,1987:31). I think it is safe to say that in the bible division creates meaning.

> "Because for me Shmulik represented Zionism. He is a Colonel in the army, an educated man who completed his master's in the Technion and a Kibbutznik. He used to tell me that he is very frustrated in the Kibbutz, since he already filled all the available positions- from being a simple farmer to erecting the industrial plant and running it successfully. He was bored to death. He wanted to get out, to assume a managerial position in the regional factory. He explained to me, however, that there was no one who could fill in for him. So he stayed. He sacrificed himself for the Kibbutz. He knew if he left, the Kibbutz suffers and since he was a part of the Kibbutz he suffers. For my father (Dov continued), and I guess for me as well Shmulik was the model of the ideal Sabra. An intellectual, an officer and an economist. This is Zionism, this is the zionist model- this is what we wanted to produce. A person who is a good soldier, an engineer, a family man, a conscious person... So Shmulik was my biggest problem. I didn't know how to justify my departure to him. Here I am, egotistically leaving Israel, because I want to do something with my life, and he is sitting there explaining to me- 'I also want to experience something new, I also want to do different things'. He did not make the verbal connection, but I didn't need words. And who do I think of? my little petty self. I am going abroad because I want to experience. What kind of privilege and luxury is this?

Death, according to Eliade (1954:35) is the supreme case of a rupture of the three planes- Earth, Heaven and Hell. That is why it is symbolized by a climbing of steps, and why funerary rites often make use of ladders or stairways. The soul of the deceased ascends the pathways up a mountain, or climbs a tree or a creeper, right up into the heavens. The ladder gives plastic expression to the break through the places necessitated by the passage from one mode of being to another, by placing us at the cosmological point where communication between Heaven, Earth and Hell becomes possible. Eliade claims that the symbolism of climbing and stairs recurs often enough in psychoanalytic literature to indicate that it belongs to the archaic content of the human psyche and is not a "historical' creation- not an innovation dating from a certain historical moment. The act of climbing or ascending symbolizes the way towards the absolute reality. As mentioned, the ascent, the rupture of cosmic zones is possible only in the "Centre".

Death is also the ultimate sacrifice, or investment. And Israeli culture is saturated with death and death images. One of the most significant days is commemoration day[30] for the victims of the holocaust. Undoubtedly, the holiest time of the year is commemoration day for the soldiers who fought and died in the wars of Israel. This is a secular holy day, a quiet period of remembrance, characterized by immobility, reflection and renewed commitment. The entire country literally freezes for two minutes. "What I remember best

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[30] . One of the most influential perspectives on the social functions of commemoration is Emile Durkheim's (see Wagner Pacifici and Schwartz:1991). Commemorative rites and symbols, according to Durkheim (1965:420), preserve and celebrate traditional beliefs; they "serve to sustain the vitality of these beliefs, to keep them from being effaced from memory and, in sum, to revivify the most essential elements of the collective consciousness. Through commemoration the group periodically renews the sentiment which it has of itself and of its unity".

from my youth movement days are Death, Sacrifice and Heroism- these were the center" commented an Israeli participant. "Uvemotam ztivu lanu et hahayim",is a commonly used phrase in commemoration services. The phrase can be translated as follows: 1. "Asthey died (or upon dying) they enabled us to live". 2. "Upon dying they ordered (almost in the religious sense of a biblical commandment) us- live"[31]. The implications are clear: life is

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[31]. Another influential myth is Masada (See Liebman and Don Yehia,1983; Schwartz et.al,1986; Elon,1994).

In 73 A.D., two years after Titus's Roman army devastated Jerusalem and its Temple, Flavius Silva (Titus's son) moved against the last remnant of Jewish resistance. The object of Silva's campaign was Masada, a mountain fortress captured and occupied by a band of about 900 "zealots" after the fall of Jerusalem. The Roman seige was strongly resisted, but defeat was inevitable. To deprive Rome of a military victory, and to save themselves from the humiliation of captivity, Masada's defenders entered into a suicide pact, which they carried out just before the last walls were breached.

After almost two thousand years of obscurity, this event was suddenly remembered and commemorated. Precipitating the 1927 recovery of Masada was the appearance of a very popular poem which used the ancient battle as an allegory of the Jewish settler's struggle.

The introductory segments of "Masada" declared (Schwartz et.al, 1986:153)

> This is the frontier; from here onwards there are no more frontiers, and behind-to no single exit do all paths lead.
>
> For all who abandon their lies on the wall (Masada is) a sign of "no more exit".

With that metaphor, an identification with the inhabitants trapped in the historic fortress was made plausible. Lacking other choices, the experiment in Palestine was deemed the final choice, the last stand. Some regard the poem as a symbol of the Halutzim- the most committed and confident of the early settlers. One line of that poem "Never again shall Masada fall!"- remains popular as an expression of national will and continues to be exploited for national demonstrations and observances, without regard for the context from which that line was drawn.

The symbolic equivalent to the American Alamo, Masada was transformed into a state sponsored cult. Yigael Yadin, a former chief of staff and the archaeologist who excavated the site, initiated the practice of swearing-in troops on the top of Masada. For the present generation, Masada is a symbol of military valour and national commitment, so far as it represents the determination to survive or die. Israelis interpret the mass suicide at Masada as a heroic affirmation of national dignity and will. In this connection, note Schwartz et.al (1986) the geopolitical parallels are most salient. Like the besieged and outnumbered defenders of Masada, contemporary Israelis found themselves (until very recently) in a garrison-state, surrounded by hostile and numerically superior forces. The following statements, assembled by Zerubavel (1980:60, 62, 69) provide some representative perceptions of this analogy:

> The courage and the force to fight for the liberation of the country, to live in it and to defend it, have been drawn from Masada.
>
> Masada is first and foremost a symbol. It signifies the stand of a few against the many, the last fight of those who gave their life for

a sacred legacy. The people we are commemorating sacrificed their lives and passed life to us. We are left with an inheritance, (or another facet of the debt) of which we have to be worthy. One cannot carry the legacy while living outside the geographical boundaries of Israel. Leaving is a blunt betrayal of the legacy.

The soil of Israel is sacred, then, because of the artifacts above and the bones inside it. Being buried in Israel also carries a special religious and national significance. For generations, until the beginning of the Zionist movement, religious people, who never lived in Israel arrived there for the sole purpose of being buried."Blessed is the person who is absorbed by Eretz Israel while he is still alive, so his soul will depart in this holy place, which faces the gate of heaven"the Talmud notes (Gesher Hayayim:249). "If one cannot live in Eretz Israel- than it is (also) a great privilege to be buried there. To be buried in Eretz Israel is like being buried under the (sacred) altar" (Gesher Hahayim:253). Other advantages mentioned in the Talmud regarding burial in Eretz Israel are: The soul of the deceased goes straight to heaven and the body is not consumed by worms.

"If a person dies abroad and was buried abroad, it's as if he died twice" continues the Talmud. "If he died abroad and was buried in Eretz Israel- it's as if he died only once". Burial in Eretz Israel redeems dying abroad. If one is buried Eretz Israel, it is as if he died here. Dying abroad means dying on profane soil.

It was mentioned earlier that Shokeid likens Yerida to suicide. Shokeid is not a religious person and refers mainly to the nationalistic aspects of Yerida. However, the

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political, religious and spiritual freedom and chose death rather than submission.

mentioning of suicide is interesting, because people who commit suicide are buried outside the wall of the graveyard- on profane soil. The above excerpt from the Talmud also indicates that living is like suicide, for the person is buried in profane soil- on the other side of the wall. The last act of a Jew should be returning, joining, coming in and being buried in a holy soil [32].

Religious Jews try to receive a package of the soil of Eretz Israel (in particular soil from the Mount of Olives in Eastern Jerusalem) to be scattered in their grave. At times, soil is scattered on the deceased' body as well as under his taliss, his face, the forehead and the eyebrows.

When the people of Israel left Egypt they carried with them the bones of Jacob, the founding father of the Jewish nation, who left Israel for Egypt and died there- "Do not bury me in Egypt" Jacob ordered his sons. The bones of B.Z. Herzel, the founding father of modern Zionism were brought to Israel and buried in Jerusalem, as were the remains of B.Z. Jabotinsky, founder of Beitar, the more right wing stream in the Zionist movement. As noted, Adolf Eichman was not granted the 'privilege' of being buried in Israel. (I suppose there were other reasons, for example the inability to guarantee the safety and intactness of the grave).

Being buried in Israel is, at least for some, an act of ultimate belonging, of coming home or being at home. "We decided to bury him here, in Israel, although it is very hard for us" commented the parents of Yehoshua Friedberg (Yediot Aharonot,1992).

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[32]. According to the Talmud, one's body is not to be taken out of Eretz Israel for burial. Even a foreigner, who had come to Eretz Israel only for a few days' visit and had died there is not to be taken out, even if all his family is buried elsewhere, and even if he had bought a grave for himself near them.

Friedberg was born as Jason Elliot Yehoshua Yehuda Friedberg and lived most of his life in Montreal. His parents still remember him as Jason. He moved to Israel, started calling himself Yehoshua (after Yehoshua Bin Nun, the biblical warrior) and joined the army. He was killed by terrorists in 1992. "He wanted to live here- and here is where he is going to be buried" his parents decided, "howcan we take him away?".Friedberg's girlfriend, herself an emigrant from England said: "Only now, after his death, I feel I became a true Israeli. His death is a part of our (his and hers) absorption process in Israel. I am fully absorbed now".

Others might not want to live in Israel, but certainly want to be buried there. The protagonist in Meir Shalev's widely read book "A Russian Novel" (1988) abandons his profession as a farmer in Nahalal, the first Moshav (a type of agricultural settlement) and makes a very good living by dividing his agricultural land into small parcels and selling them to diaspora Jews who insisted on being buried in the holy land.

The modern nation- state provides its citizens with both security and a sense of specialness, the two defense mechanisms against death anxiety mentioned by Yalom (1986), as well as a sense of continuity between past and future. Kearl and Rinaldi (1983) argue that there are significant psychological advantages in belonging to a nation state. Citizenship provides the individual with not only spatial transcendence, but temporal transcendence as well. State membership makes one's own life (in Bertrand Russell's words) "part of the whole stream, not a mere stagnant puddle without any overflowinto the future". Being an Israeli citizen means much more than holding a passport. It is what Kearl and Rinaldi term "sacred citizenship".

Israel is a society founded on the Zionist revolution and offers it's citizens what Robert Jay Lifton terms "Symbolic Immortality"- a part of "compelling, life-enhancing imagery binding each individual person to significant groups and events removed from him in place and time. It is the individual's inner perception of his involvement in what we call the historical process". "Revolutionary Immortality" writes Lifton (1968a) "(is) a shared sense of participating in permanent revolutionary fermentation and of transcending individual death by "living on" indefinitely within this continuing revolution."[33]

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[33] .Israelis chronically suffer from the "Yenan Syndrome" or "Complex"- the nostalgia for the heroic revolutionary methods and achievements of days gone by (Lifton,1968a). Here is another example for investment, indeed sacrifice- one of the most glorified periods in Israeli history is the period between the foundation of the state, in 1948, and the late 50s. During this period, Israelis were required to make great personal sacrifices, but what they remember from this period is the compensation- the spirit of togetherness and the feeling of belonging to a great, transcendent project.

ISRAEL: TENSIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY.

All of the above is still strongly expressed in official Israeli discourse (see Roniger and Feige,1992). But strong national ideology never successfully prevented Israelis from leaving Israel for other places. On top, underneath and beside the new,shiny Israeli veneer, old Jewish traits still breathe. Beside the either-or, non- surrendering manifestations of Israeliness, there was always a strong undercurrent of pragmatism. This Jewish veteran never disappeared. Judaism might be non-compromising, but Jews had always been very pragmatic. Pragmatism is the more 'feminine' 'Jewish', less 'Israeli' trait in the Israeli configuration.

The discrepancy between ideology and behavior might be partly explained by the fact that while ideology emphasizes staying in the country and condemns leaving, (which could be perceived as the ultimate act of individualism), socialization and basic child rearing practices emphasize individualism and self reliance, tendencies that are (in some cases) strengthened during military service. In this sense there is no significant difference between self in Israel and self in the U.S.: they are both "western";individualistic in nature. In Israel, then, one finds a strong national identity and ideology, but little commitment to stay. For example, there is no special emphasis on living with extended family or staying in one workplace. Earlier, when the Israeli 'on' was introduced, it was argued that Israeli socialization emphasizes the notion of debt. In other words Sabras have to pay some dues. The question remains, however, as to who the creditors are and how is payment supposed to occur. In Japan, the matter is quite simple- there is an elaborate code of behavior one has to follow in order to pay the 'on'. It is a concrete, daily payment. In Israel, the identity of the creditor is not as well defined. One is obliged, but obliged to whom? And what is one expected to do? As mentioned, army service is a major installment indeed, but it is not enough. One of the means of payment is by following the decree to stay. But this 'commandment' is non-specific and vague- it is not issued by a specific unquestionably authoritative figure (such as the emperor); it is not directed or aimed at anyone in particular and breaking it does not invoke any visible sanction. It is just a general rule.

Staying, however, is not heroic enough. The swamps have been dry for decades and there is little to do in terms of national projects. And besides: who wants to pay dues all his life if he can avoid it? "I finished preparing my homework" writes Yehonatan Gefen, another quintessential Sabra (a Parachutist and a Poet) "Now I want to go and have some fun with friends".

"I had never heard the sound of the wind in a forest, I had never seen the beautiful sight of snow covered roofs", proclaims a folk Israeli song- "My home is here, overlooking the Golan mountains". The mood of this particular song, one of quiet contentment, stands in sharp contrast to the craving of most Israelis, particularly the young. They do indeed want to see the beautiful sight of snow covered roofs, or the Himalayas, or the Amazon basin. If Israel is the back stage, they want to see the main stage. After the imposed moratorium of the military service most of them decide to take a voluntary moratorium (which, as we shall see, sometimes extends to the rest of their lives). "I am unhappy with my son" disclosed a worried father to Refael Eitan, a former army chief of staff (the letter was written in 1985) "after three years in an elite unit he wants to go and see the world. I perceive it as a failure of both my family and the educational system. We failed to install core pioneer values in our youth" (Barne'a,1985).

Yonatan Lifshitz, the protagonist of Amos Oz's wonderful novel "A Perfect Peace" (1982) leaves his kibbutz, his (supposedly) perfect home because, as his wife Inbal puts it "he has to kill a dragon". Young Lifshitz intends to find his holy grail in Petra, the forbidden city located across the Jordanian border, finds his (temporary) peace in the desert and finally returns home, to the kibbutz. "Perfect Peace" is situated in Israel of 1966. Would Lifshitz have ever returned had he the chance of going to look for his peace in the Himalayas? My guess is he would have joined an Ashram.

In addition, Israelis are fascinated with everything American and a quick glance at Israeli folk heroes reveals an astonishing duality: on the one hand reports on the everpresent, aforementioned 'salt of the earth' mythological Sabras and on the other an unrelenting adulation of people "Whomade it abroad".Feature stories and colorful pictures describing glorious mansions and glitzy lifestyles of ex-Israelis such as Arnon Milchan, the film mogul, or Meshulam Ricklis, the retailer tycoon, regularly appear on the covers of Israeli magazines. Successful Israelis who live outside Israel cease to be termed (at least to their faces and in public discourse) "Yordim".The term is usually reserved to people who left Israel to drive cabs in New York and do domestic work in Los Angeles.

There is a constant strong tension between the nearly suffocating social structure of a small country and the impending will for exploration and adventure. Existing in a stew is very filling- one is seldom hungry for a sense of belonging. But twenty one years of Chulent leaves something to be desired. Some Nouvelle Cuisine maybe.

"This country is the back alley of the world" claims the mother in yet another of

Amos Oz's novels "Har Haetza Hara'a" (Another unsatisfactory translation reads: "The mountain of evil council"), who lives in Jerusalem, forever longing for Warsaw (Oz:1979). "A city is not worthy of its name without a river running through it" she contends. Israel, in fact, is full of Jewish immigrants, both refugees and voluntary 'olim', who have been living there for decades with their families but have never regarded Israel as their home. They never got used to the weather, do not fully comprehend the language or culture and loathe what they considered the Levantine ("Aziatic")mentality. Earlier, it was argued that an ideal home, a perfect centering and grounding originates in the body and is carried through to family, culture and nationality. The above mentioned people 'skipped' some cycles. They have a home (a center) in their families and feel that nationally Israel is their home, but discrepancies, 'holes' abound. Homeostasis was never achieved. Exactly the same thing re-occurred with the latest Aliya from Ethiopia. "Growing up" related an Israeli participant, "I was told in school that if my parents speak Yiddish at home they are traitors. My parents, of course, wanted to speak Yiddish and Polish all the time. My mother becomes a different person when she sings in Yiddish or Polish. She is extremely invigorated by the language. And she hates Poles. In fact, I think she hates Polish as well".

The above mentioned poet Leo Perotz, who was never willing or able to root himself in Israel (he staunchly refused to learn Hebrew), confessed to a friend that he always dreamt of a house with two sets of windows: one overlooking Mount Temple in Jerusalem, the other facing Lake Wolfgang in Austria. "Howcan you write in exile?" complained Perotz "especially in this weather"[34]. Nina Vangrov, a founding member of kibbutz 'Lohamei Hagetaot' (Fighters of the Ghettos) told the author Tom Segev (1991): "This (the kibbutz, Israel) was never my home. My home was destroyed fifty years ago by the Nazis". This, from a woman who had been living for decades the Zionist dream of metaphorical and literal renewal and rebirth. I think Vangrov was saying: 'All my meaningful anchors no longer exist.' She was also probably saying: home and belonging should be taken for granted. After what happened to us in the holocaust we can take nothing for granted [35].

SUMMARY

In this chapter I tried to illustrate the unique status of the concept home in Israeli culture. As a result of the Jewish predicament and the combination of Nation, Religion and Culture focused singularly on a particular place, the Eliadean mythological center and the Shilsian social (institutional) and value centers are combined to create a powerful sense of exclusive, irreplaceable belonging and strong integrating factors of personal identity.

In the next chapter I shall describe the relative inability, or unwillingness of Israeli immigrants to create a different, alternative, or substitute center when they leave.

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[34] . "Israel is my home, but not my place" said the artist Michael Drux in an interview (Hai'r,1987)

[35] On a lighter note: "My blood is Brazilian, my spirit is Israeli", noted a Brazilian born Kibbutznik before the last world cup soccer games.

CHAPTER THREE: LEAVING HOME AND THE ABILITY TO CREATE A NEW HOME.

Strap yourself to a tree with roots, you ain't going nowhere (Bob Dylan)

A man moves from one place to another. What the man left stays behind and glares at his back". (Amos Oz: "Perfect Peace)

"The time has come. The time is now. Just go, go, go, I don't care how". (Dr. Seus: "Marvin K. Mooney, Will You Please Go Now)

Yes, you who must leave everything that you cannot control
It begins with your families
But soon it comes round to your souls (Leonard Cohen: "Sisters of Mercy")

If You Abandon Me, I Will Not die
If You Abandon Me, You Will Die (A Czech patriotic song, written by Victor Dyk in 1917)

"I am merely changing air, not trading my soul in " (a song by Israeli singer Mati Caspi)

"I am leaving basketball, because I have nothing left to prove" (Michael Jordan, 1993)

"Every separation is a small death"- (Jaques Prever)

The fish belongs in the water and the tree belongs in the soil. The relationships are characterized by total physical dependency. The tree never needs to be out of soil. The fish has nothing to learn outside the water, except how to perish ungracefully. He gains nothing by leaving. No novel aspects of the snail's self are suppressed or constrained by his staying in his shell and a fish is a fish is a fish: it is not supposed to re-create itself out of its natural habitat. In contrast, people sometime needs to be "out of place", to explore and express different aspects of self (see Tuan,1984; Million,1993).

It seems that one of the most coveted prizes nowadays is to be sent out of home. Almost everyone I know is preoccupied with the point game- i.e., collecting enough 'air miles' which will take him or her away- out of here, out of home. Daily, regular and

mundane activities, routines and habits, such as Safeway shopping and filling up gas- routines and habits which are the 'tools' of creating home, are associated with home and are, to a point, the essence of home- are infused nowadays with the possibility, chance, and opportunity of leaving home. In other words- If you are good at home you will be allowed to leave for a while. Movement, in a certain context, is one of the ultimate symbols of success. This at least is how the 'Westin' hotel chain presents it in its 'Overnight Success' plan. Overnight Success means a German car and a million Aeroplan Miles (1994).

This is, of course, on the mild side of the continuum of leaving home I studied. There are "little, temporary leavings" and "big, permanent" ones. We leave home every day, but we don't perceive this as a fundamental change, because we know we are coming back. "Leaving home", in the terms of this study means principally leaving a center, a shift in center which is not perceived as temporary.

Some of us want to leave our parents' home, but this leavetaking is also expected of us and sometimes pressed on us. One of the basic tenets and primary expectations of American culture, notes Robert Bellah, is to leave the place where we grew up (1986:23).

Leaving a parent's home is leaving a place one is supposed to leave and is not expected to return to -except on special occasions such as holidays and burials, (one's parents, or one's own). Leaving a country permanently is a much less expected or acceptable act. Immigration starts the physical and symbolic journey, and becomes a metaphor for the life task of separation, individualism and differentiation. A center which encompassed physical as well as relational spheres, which was previously provided and in which one had been moving in a taken for granted manner, is left behind. One moves out of the center.

People leave their countries voluntarily, involuntarily, and all the shades in between. It is relatively uncomplicated to determine when some departures are forced (as is the case of survivors or refugees), but lines are blurred with the type of immigrants represented in this study, where the act of leaving a country does not render itself to simplistic classifications of voluntary vs. involuntary. It contains characteristics of both.

Using Maslow's scale of needs as a crude reference (1970), one finds that all five of them, from shelter to self fulfillment, are given as causes and excuses for leaving home, for immigration. The place is not safe; the weather is awful; 'fresh air' is needed; people simply need to get the travel thing out of their system. People might feel they don't belong in a place any more as do many English Quebeckers (Elliott and Fleras,1992). They might leave to find a wife or progress professionally, to provide their children with better opportunities, to find the Holy Grail or, as the protagonist in John Cheever's story (Bullet Park,1980), to find a house with yellow windows, where peace of mind is. People have a dream to follow or a dragon to kill, something to prove to themselves or to others. "I am just going to conquer the hills of Hollywood and I'll be on my way back home" promised the Israeli film director Yaki Yosha (Yediot Aharont,1993). The homeland becomes too small. The horizon seems too close. At times like this home might become, or feel like a trap. There might be a feeling of forced immobility, suffocation and stasis. I strongly believe, however, that seldom is a decision to migrate determined by a sole factor (although many times a single factor is given as the presenting reason).

One of the principal reasons for 'voluntary' departure is the desire to re-invent self. This is often presented as a need and desire to dissociate from the center which was provided or even imposed in childhood and an attempt to find, or create, another center[1]

In leaving home, the question becomes- from which building blocks are immigrants going to create their new center, their new home? The re-creation of the cycle- the association of place with feelings, the 'charging' of place with emotions and the ongoing dialogue between self and anchors have to be addressed. And this is, I believe, the simple part of the project, for it is chiefly related to creation and maintenance of habits. Issues of identity and belonging, citizenship and loyalty, meaning and transcendence, parts of the life story previously less relevant because (ideally) they were dealt with by the original culture present themselves forcefully. A coherent life story has to be rewritten. When one leaves, one faces multiple challenges and dilemmas, and in the re-creation process one needs to live comfortably with ambiguity and compromise.

One of the important issues is the relationship between citizen and state. There is a shift in this relationship, from ascribed status (birthright) and almost unconditional acceptance (Israeli law of return) to an acquired status which is granted only after specific requirements have been met. In the previous chapter, Rose complained she was allowed to stay in the orphanage not because she was loved and unconditionally accepted, but because she had something to contribute- in her case the money her family paid for her. I see disturbing similarities in the immigrant's case. When one leaves a homeland one has to prove to the 'hosts' that he has sufficient skills or money to contribute. And then, he is accepted to their home.

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[1]. This is where the issue of choice gets complicated. As noted, even if someone does not really want to leave, the 'first language of individualism' almost forces them to do so.

Because home is a combination, (preferably a unity) of body and soul, it is possible to leave home- not to be at home- without actually leaving the place. The ideal home implies the ability to center oneself in the midst of the aforementioned cycles which include body, culture and ideology, as well as personal past, present and future. It is not uncommon to find people whose spirits left home some time ago, while their bodies still reside in the old neighborhoods (see Moira's account regarding herself and her clients).

Consider for example the case of Yehuda Yaari. In September 1989, upon starting a two month vacation abroad, Yaari, supposedly a grain in the Israeli salt of the earth- (a Kibbutznik and the editor of the Kibbuztim movement newspaper)- announced he was leaving Israel, 'committing' Yerida:

> "I had produced milk and planted a tree..."wrote Yaari in his eulogy "I 'greened' a yellow (meaning- I made the desert bloom) and patrolled the borders... and I acquired the right to say enough to this crap. I am leaving tomorrow because I am desperate. I am getting out because this country has no future. We have become merciless, mindless brutes".

Yaari was expressing the disenchantment many Israelis felt at the time with the corruption of the political system and the way the Israeli army was handling the "Intifadah",the Palestinian uprising.

However, Yaari had a twist. He was indeed going to leave, but only mentally, not physically.

> "I will cease to be an Israeli at seven o'clock New York time" he contended. "I am immigrating, although I shall physically return to the kibbutz in two months. We (he and his wife) shall land in Ben Gurion airport and go to the kibbutz. A child will be born. We shall eat and sleep here. I shall continue to go to the beach and fulfill

> my duties as a guard in the kibbutz once every two months... I shall be here, although I immigrated. The place of the body does not count..."

As promised, Yaari returned to his kibbutz. He excused his return as an inability to leave his son from a previous marriage behind. "I live here, but I am not here" he told the journalist Iga'l Sarna, who interviewed him a year after he published his controversial statement (Yedioth Aharonoth:1990).

> "I am dissociated" he told Sarna. "Disconnected. I am out of here. I can sit here, now, and tell you that your country has a lunatic for a finance minister and I won't care a bit about it. I don't feel any sense of belonging anymore. Technically, I am here. But my spirit left. You don't have to live in New York to be a 'Yored'.I can live here and not feel Israeli. I devised a trick for myself, so I can survive. I could no longer live with the burden".
>
> "Yaari'sroots are here" noted the journalist Sarna "buthe feels the soil is poisoned".

Some, of course, do leave Israel physically. As mentioned, the Jewish nation was born with an act of separation and movement- the departure of Abraham from his "country, homeland and father's home" (Genesis) to follow the promise of a new, better, meaningful existence. Break and journey were Abraham's first steps toward the creation of his new self and his new nation. Israelis leave for many reasons, some of them indicated in the previous chapter, but they never run away for shelter. They are never in a position where they feel they need the other country physically. They never consider themselves refugees. "I did not stand in line outside the American consulate in Tel Aviv in order to get an immigrant's visa" an Israeli woman told Shokeid (1986), meaning: "I have someone to take care of me (the state of Israel). I don't really need this place" (The U.S) [2].

The overwhelming majority of the participants in this study-Israelis and non Israelis, men and women alike, argued with varying degrees of internal conviction and external vehemence that they never intended to leave their country of origin permanently. When they left, it was impossible for them to envision or imagine themselves living 'outside' forever.

The Israelis usually present themselves as "Children of Circumstances", (The title of Shokeid's 1986 book) and in my view "Victims of Circumstances"- or "Accidental Immigrants". They victimize themselves. "We were stuck", "One thing led to another. In fact one mistake led to another". "We came to breathe some fresh air after the army", "to make money", or (as did most of the Japanese male participants) to pursue higher education. In other words, most of the participants never decided to leave permanently. They just stayed here (some Israelis cannot even commit themselves to that). But while all argue "we never decided to abandon the old center", in the Israeli case most of the participants are also saying: "we are not able\ interested\willing to create a new home".

I shall now present a short case study where the participant decided to leave. He acted deliberately and purposefully and (a most unusual admission for an Israeli) took responsibility for the unpopular act. As noted, a decision to leave is seldom the result of a single factor. I believe the following case illustrates the interplay of factors which are usually present, but seldom articulated. Both Push and Pull (see Driedger, 1989) factors are present in David's account:

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[2]. The Gulf war was a painful exception to this. See Yedioth Aharonoth, January 1991.

David is 37 years old. His parents emigrated to Israel from South Africa and joined a Kibbutz near Tel Aviv, where they raised their three sons. David's father, a dominant figure in his eldest son's upbringing, was a unique combination of a Communist, a Zionist, a Reichian (a devotee of Wilhelm Reich), a Kibbutznik and a pilot in the Israeli army.

After his army service, David graduated from the Technion, the prestigious Israeli institute of technology, and joined El Al, the Israeli national air carrier, as a System Analyst. Nine years ago, at the age of 28, without being forced and without any apparent 'external' reasons, David decided to leave Israel. Two years later he left El Al, where he had 'kvioot' (literally- steadiness and stability, with an undercurrent, or 'aftertaste' of immobility and stagnation)- an act bordering on insanity according to many of his colleagues, and emigrated to Canada. The process leading to his departure could be described as planting (imaginary) seeds in the new soil (Canada), while experiencing growing disenchantment with his roots in Israel. When the seeds came to fruition and began to sprout David left. He left for various reasons, some of them often cited by other participants, such as his realization that "with my salary (a decent salary in Israeli terms) I could not get established in Tel-Aviv" and the Israeli fascination with everything American: "All the books and manuals in the Technion were in English. I realized that in order to advance professionally in Israel (one) needs an international, preferably American experience. I mean, everyone who 'made it big' in Israel had been in the States before".In addition, David had relatives in Edmonton "who used to whisper in my ear on every occasion 'come here, try, this is a great country".He recalls waiting on the runway in New York's La Guardia airport, after a visit to a friend: "Manhattan, Park Avenue, Lexington.

These were legendary names for me. I remember thinking that I would like to try a piece of the good life sometime".

There were, however, other reasons. One was the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. David was drafted and sent to Sidon, where he witnessed 'piles upon piles' of Palestinian bodies in a deserted hospital. At the end of a long day, after experiencing the stress of being shelled, he found himself on the beach:

> "I remember the Palestinian kids passing by while I was sitting on the armoured carrier. Some 12 year olds were carrying babies on their arms and I thought 'Ya Alla (God almighty), I hate what I am doing here. I had a really nasty feeling. Had I seen this scene in a movie, my heart would have gone to the kids, not the soldiers. I remember looking West, and there was a tremendously beautiful orange sunset. I remember that suddenly...really...without warning, for the first time in my life I thought "hey,this might be my last sunset. Then came the thought 'wait a minute. Not yet. Not yet. There are so many things I still have not done. I vividly remember asking myself 'is this (the war) worth dying for'? The answer was no. When I returned to Tel Aviv, I felt, for the first time in my life like a stranger. I felt they (the Likkud government, the army) forced me to do something I don't agree with. The feeling stood in sharp contrast to my whole upbringing: total identification with the Zionist project".

There was another 'variable', 'element' or 'factor' in David's decision to immigrate- self assertion:

> "I wanted to control my own life" he said. "To be the navigator of my ship. To make decisions about the course myself. Stop being a part of a bigger system, be it the Kibbutz, the army or the company. I had to step out of the 'route' that was designed by others and prove to myself I can do something for myself. Growing up in a Kibbutz is not unsimilar to growing up in a greenhouse- there is very little personal responsibility. Someone else, usually a committee, took care of business, and business was anything from personal budget to education. Then I went to the army, and the Technion and El Al, and everything was so predictable. I was merely following my father's plan. To go to the Technion was more or less his idea, and I knew that if I joined El Al it will make him really happy and satisfied- so many of his army friends were there.
> But to emigrate to Canada? This was my baby. My first original idea. Totally my creation. I never met anyone who left such a cushy job and emigrated. Immigration,

> then, was my decision, not my father's and not the kibbut's or the army's or the state's. I knew it would hurt my father, but I realized I could not take responsibility for his life. I had to live mine".

The theme of Parent and State merges. The desire, the urge, the necessity to leave the place, the country, in order to move away from the sphere of influence of a dominating parent is, of course, not a unique Israeli theme. Nor is the desire for self assertion or doing the unexpected. Another interviewee, Mr. Hideki left Japan because he wanted to be a scientist. His father is also a scientist, in the same field, in Japan, and:

> "Nepotism is very strong in Japan. I felt most of the offers for employment came to me because of my father. I resented that. I wanted to make my point here (in Canada), to survive outside of Japan. Leaving enabled me to establish my identity. Nobody knows me here, so when I got a job and was promoted I was positive it had nothing to do with my father or my father's friends. So although I might not feel the best now about my life, at least I did it myself.[3]

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[3]. Another Japanese participant, Mr. Tesshi said:

> "I went to some of the best private high schools in Tokyo, not because it was my choice, but because my teachers thought I would have a better chance to be accepted in a better university. But I didn't want to go to a better university. I did not want to spend two years studying mindlessly for university entrance examinations, and I didn't want to get a great job in a good company right after school. Up until then, I used to be a 'natural Japanese', a kind of Japanese who always does the right things and who will do very well in Japanese society.
>
> Q: So why did you decide not to do that?
>
> A: Because I did not want responsibility anymore. I was the oldest son, so I had to take care of the young ones. In class, I was always chosen as the leader by my fellow students. I always assumed responsibility. I couldn't shake it. I just couldn't. I was chosen as a leader, and Japanese leader, any leader, of a small community or any type of group they belong to, Japanese leaders assume their roles. You take care of your subordinates, not by merit, but you take care of them. You have to do small things for them. You have to restrain yourself for their benefit. Your needs come last. I was molded into this, by others. I picked up the habit of putting other's needs before mine. I felt I didn't want to be molded into that kind of pattern, that if I do it, It will have to be my choice. But I was never given the choice, it was a group pressure to assume that kind of responsibility. And I got tired of that. I wanted to find my own way of life, forget about responsibilities, I wanted to do something I liked. And when the chance came to study in Canada, I took it".

Upon arriving in Canada, David, as if following a blueprint or a list, started engaging himself in activities which stood in sharp contrast to his previous life. He became a businessman, an entrepreneur, a capitalist. He started taking risks. He is interested in money. And, in his words, he "became much more Jewish". He reads about Jewish history (particularly the holocaust) and visits the synagogue occasionally.

> "When I arrived in Canada" he said, "I decided to view my life here as an experiment. I am engaged here in activities and projects I never experienced in Israel. Furthermore, I don't think I would ever have had the legitimacy to experience them, for example doing anything which is not engineering. I decided, for the first time in my life, to let myself fail. Up to that point I never took a chance. Everything was a sure bet. I realized it would be much easier for me to fail outside Israel, than in Israel. Here, you see, I am anonymous. In Israel I have my ego. I have friends everywhere-from highschool, from the army, from university; and I felt apprehensive 'falling flat on my face'".

David's words are echoed in Nimrod's, who resides in Edmonton without his family:

> "I get up Saturday morning and decide to wear a crummy training suit and have a walk around West Edmonton Mall. Doing something like that in Israel is unacceptable for me. People know me. I am always on my toes in case I meet someone who knows me. I have to be up to a certain level. For example, I feel I can't 'afford' to be unemployed in Israel. But here? who cares?

Participants describe their experience in and out of home in terms of 'walking on their toes'. When they are at home they walk on their toes because they are apprehensive about doing anything that might be out of the ordinary, that might present facets of 'self' other than the ones rehearsed and well presented and accepted, actions that might shatter the taken for granted world. When they are out of home, they are on their toes because 'self' has to choose, react and reflect constantly, because less is taken for granted. Some find it invigorating. Some find this process energizing and compatible with personal awareness and growth.

The people mentioned above left home either because they felt detachment from the center, or that a pillar of the center had to undergo construction, or reconstruction. In all cases unease was present. Yaari 'left' because his Israeli ideology, the national sphere, a central theme of his center was shattered ("The last straw was the brutal killing of a Palestinian by Israeli soldiers, while the victim's son was present"), and he felt a strong need for dissociation. David left because he wanted to do something completely different, to re-invent himself, take risks and let himself fail, and Mr. Hideki left because he wanted to 'be his own man'.

Both David and the Japanese interviewees left because they had to establish and assert an independent self, away from a dominating parent or a suffocating social structure.

There are, however, some advantages and gains (not for everyone, and not always), in living constantly out, or away from home, in being in the world without a home. Federico Fellini once said that he tries not to stay too long with his last film, for he feels his creation might devour him. The same threat, I believe, exists at home, which is our creation. Malone & Malone (See Schnarch,1991:112) write:

> "When we become captured by our systems, we...embroil ourselves in closeness: in fixed systems. In this closeness, we are...a "part of" something- a marriage, an office, a company, a country. Our desire for systems reflects our concern with maintenance and familiarity, and our neglect of creativity and energizing connections. Closeness is certainly important and necessary, but it has become a neurotic, obsessive preoccupation, and a destructive over-concern in current human societies..."

I believe home and routine can the likened to thin layers which, stacked and compressed, eventually create a desired shell and provide us with the illusion of protection. I would like, very briefly to examine what might happen to the imaginary turtle if the shell was taken away- without the stabilizing effect of the world in routine.

Although it is not the focus of this study, I would like to end this chapter by introducing someone who constantly lives out of home, who left his home in the Kibbutz more than twenty years ago, and never managed to create another physical center.

At 41 Amitai is divorced, does not have family in Canada, has no house nor stable employment (he works on a freelance basis in the film industry). The only stable point in his life is an answering machine in a box office, where he picks up his messages. In the past fourteen years, Amitai had moved twelve times. He does not pretend to like his predicament: "This forced movement feels dreadful at times", and it is clear he would like to inject more stability into his life. But:

> "This constant movement, this absence of security keeps me thinking constantly about who I am, what am I doing and where am I going. I am constantly pushed. I can take nothing for granted when I am on the move. I am exposed, and I have to deal with it almost every day. I have to be in touch with it".

Amitai's words are echoed by George Kateb's: "Alienation or estrangement is good" writes Kateb (1991:76), "And hence that wanting to be at home mentally or spiritually is questionable and ought to be questioned". Kateb continues to propose a rejection of being at home and to praise alienation, for it is "To accept a burden, but it is the same thing as trying to live honestly rather than living a story". Perhaps different people have very different routes to follow in order to ensure a feeling state of awareness and aliveness.

CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED

I now turn to the presentation and analysis of the findings of my study. The main issue this thesis tries to address is the relative ability or inability of immigrants from different cultures to create home away from their native land.

I found that the variables which determine this ability are: 1. Nature of Self (ranging from individualistic and self gratifying to self sacrificing) and 2. Levels of Commitment to the new place. The two variables are independent of each other and compose the axes of the following chart.

Individual interviews were then gathered and grouped into clusters. Since the main goal of this study was the comparison of Israeli and Japanese immigrants, I shall present and analyse only the clusters which include the participants from those groups. The accounts of other participants were included only to the extent they relate to points raised by the Israelis or the Japanese.

In addition the clustering, 'representative' figures shall be introduced- A) The Self Made Man, B) The Stereotypical Mother, C) The Travelling Salesman and D) The Pioneer.

INTRODUCING THE VARIABLES

INDIVIDUALISM.

REPRESENTATIVE FIGURE- THE SELF MADE MAN.

Characteristics include:

1. Strong attitude of personal independence.

2. The doctrine that the individual is of paramount importance.

3. The theory that individual effort and initiative should take precedence over governmental or social action. (Dictionary of Psychology:236).

"...The right to think for ourselves, judge for ourselves, make our own decisions, live our lives as we see fit."(Bellah at. al, 1986:46)

According to Roland (1988) the Individualized Self (the predominant inner psychological organization of Americans), is characterized by inner representational organizations that emphasize: an individualistic "I-ness" with relatively self contained ego boundaries, sharp differentiation between inner images of self and other, and considerable social individuation orienting the person toward relatively autonomous functioning and inner separateness.

"Individualistic" cultures then, emphasize autonomy, independence, self reliance and self gratification. Individualism enables members of the culture to function in a highly mobile society where considerable autonomy is granted if not imposed on the individual. The individual must choose from a variety of social options in contractual, egalitarian relationships, governed by a predominant cultural principle of individualism.

In the American version, individualism is also closely associated with movement.

One of the basic tenets and primary expectations of the American way of life notes Robert Bellah, is for the individual to leave the place where he grew up. Bellah alludes to Americans as "Selfmade individualists leaving home".Almost a prerequisite for the creation of the new self and probably its first manifestation is a break from old norms and traditions, as well as from a place. It seems one's real 'worth'is determined only after one leaves home. "In a culture that emphasizes the autonomy and self reliance of the individual... childhood is chiefly preparation for the all important event of leaving home (1986:56).

Ideally, the individualist carries his center with him. His center is not dependent on a specific place, or defined by other people.

SELF SACRIFICE.

REPRESENTATIVE FIGURE: THE STEREOTYPICAL MOTHER

Life for the stereotypical mother is composed and defined by selfless devotion, most likely to husband and children. Self is defined by relationships and primary commitment is to others. The center is intertwined and inseparable from other people and is constituted by relationships with significant others. The stereotypical Jewish or Japanese mother best exemplify the type.

In his book "In Search of Self in India and Japan", Roland (1988), writes about The Familial Self. It is a basic inner psychological organization that enables women and men to function well within the hierarchial intimacy relationships of the extended family, community and other groups. Roland argues that one of the important "sub organizations" of this familial self is symbiosis-reciprocity (1988:7). It involves intensely emotional intimacy relationships, with their emotional connectedness and interdependence. This type of self is commonly found in relationship-centered cultures where there is a constant affective exchange through permeable outer ego boundaries and where high levels of empathy and receptivity to others are cultivated. The experiential sense of self is of a "We-self" that is felt to be highly relational. "We-self" contrasts with the self of Westerners, which is implicitly always an I-self.

> Said an Israeli participant:
>
> "My mother has been living for her children and now that we grew up she lives for her grandchildren. She is a very strong and talented woman of great intellect and I am positive she gave up a promising academic career when she got married very young. But I never heard her uttering a word about what she had to sacrifice. I never heard her complain or express any disappointment or sense of loss or indicate she would have preferred it any other way. She seems to be a hundred percent content with her life.
> When I ask my mother 'Ma Nishma' ("What's up\ How are you"), she hears "How are the children". Israel can go down the tube a dozen times, the government can rise and fall, the Arabs can continue murdering Jews- she couldn't care less. First the kids. It constantly amuses and amazes me to realize how focused she is... Of course she reads the newspaper, she watches the news, she knows what is going on, but somehow it fails to touch her".

I shall now introduce two metaphors (or prototypes), which illuminate the relationship of person and new place. The prototypes are The Salesman and The Pioneer.

THE TRAVELLING SALESMAN- INABILITY OR UNWILLINGNESS TO COMMIT.

This individual leaves home and never makes a commitment to a new place. Taken to the extreme, life for this individual is a series of movements between places. The "Sojourner"(Siu,1952) represents a similar, if less extreme case of this type. Both Sojourner and Travelling Salesman have home to which they might return, but for the travelling salesman movement is a way of existing in the world, while the sojourner does not really move that much. However, the underlying assumptions and modus-operandi of the Sojourner and Travelling Salesman, regarding person and new place are not dissimilar. The Sojourner, in fact, is a 'tamed' version of the Travelling Salesman.

Commitment (and lack of it) is a key concept when examining the Travelling Salesman. Commitment entails a sacrifice of the freedom to move; commitment means settling down, planting roots and making a life in the new place- being open to the place and becoming a part of it. Commitment implies envisioning future life in the new place. It also entails recognition that at times, aspects of the self and identity have to be restructured. Commitment to a new place implies surrender.

Travelling Salespeople never surrender to a new place. They are, in a way like Hummingbirds- they want to take something. What they offer in return is a commodity- not themselves. They avoid entrance and permanent integration into their environment. They are in the situation, but not of the situation. The Travelling Salesman always keeps his distance-he is always partly excommunicated, always the stranger, forever looking forward to his next trip. He does not belong and is never really connected: "My father was a traveling salesman" writes Richard Ford (Utne Magazine,1993) "Andevery Monday I would hear him whistling as he got ready to leave".

The Travelling Salesman might be temporarily seduced by a place. In fact, he often enjoys the seduction of the new place, comes alive in his 'passion' for it. But he always keeps his options open. Option, in this context, is the ability to leave, to move on. The Salesman considers a place in terms of exhausting it. In his extreme form he is the perpetual tourist. Life is not a real marriage between person and place, for one never gets to the "sickness" part of "in sickness and in health" of the marriage vows..."I leave when things start to go wrong"proclaims Jack Nicholson in "Five Easy Pieces". "I leave a place just before any routine needs to be developed",declares one of the participants, who is the quintessential Travelling Salesman (he sells his charm to people in the third world). "Change"he maintains, "Has made me feel very alive. I guess it's a constant challenge".Like a shark, (or a land developer), this Travelling Salesman has to be on the move. He never settles down- never stays long enough to root, ground and center himself. "Commitment means I will have to sacrifice my freedom to move. I am not courageous enough to make this commitment" he continued, "By committing to a place where I will give up the ability to bring change to my life...I don't know if that would be death...but it will definitely feel close...".

The following is an actual exchange between two of the (Israeli) participants who had been living in Edmonton for over two decades:

> Husband: Would you leave Edmonton?
> Wife: Why? How come ?What do you mean? We have a house here, a business...
> Husband: Yes, but if tomorrow someone offered to pay us a million dollars...
> Wife: Why a million? A $100,000 would do. I would leave immediately.

THE PIONEER- ABILITY TO MAKE A COMMITMENT

The antithesis of the Salesman syndrome is the Pioneer. While the Salesman glides on the surfaces without leaving noticeable traces, neither on the place nor in his soul, the Pioneer ploughs. He 'opens' the land and is open to the land. There is a strong commitment, manifested in the decision to sacrifice movement, to actively plant roots and become a part of the new place. Commitment to a place implies also bonding with community and neighbors- no matter how different they are from you or how much you think you could like them.

The Pioneer is very much like the Spanish conqueror Hernan Cortez[4]. He is willing to burn his ships, both physical and mental, denying himself the return option. Ties to the past need to be severed. I am not suggesting one eliminates memories, but that the commitment 'overrides' memories. One does not sit on the waters of Babylon and keeps himself busy crying whenever he remembers Zion. Conflicts are not nourished. The new place has to become home and the pioneer does this through the investment of superior effort and loyalty[5]. The Pioneer makes himself belong. And when one opens to the place Self and Identity unavoidably change. They are, in fact, reinvented.

A pioneer will never discuss a place in terms of 'exhausting' it, for loyalty and exhaustion are mutually exclusive. The pioneer invests himself in the new place with a sense of gratitude and in return gains a sense of self and a new identity. Although the creation of home is a joint, dialectical project of place and self, a partnership if you like, the Pioneer, in fact, willfully surrenders to the place. He certainly does not fight it or abdicate his responsibilities. This is a true marriage, not an affair, and the relationship includes the gamut from sickness and drudgery to comfort and satisfaction. It is not an intense, passionate and temporary love affair. Unlike the Salesman, the Pioneer holds the place in utmost respect, for he is invested in the place. The place has become one of the main sources of his identity. Self becomes associated with place, and both are associated with home. "I cannot have a spiritual center without having a geographical one. I cannot live a grounded life without being grounded in a place", writes Scott Russell Sanders (Utne Magazine,1993).

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[4]. Or the aforementioned biblical Abraham and Ruth. "Taking up the destiny of the covenanted people means putting behind one the filiation of geography and biology, replacing the old natural bonds with new contractual ones, as Abraham does with God, having left his father's house, and as Ruth does with the clan of Elimelech and the land of Judea" (Alter and Kermode,1987:14).

[5]. This attitude is captured by Glick (1938) when he uses the term "settle's attitudes".

Almost without exception the Pioneer wishes to be buried in the land he helped to cultivate. Burial becomes the ultimate manifestations of respect.

One is reminded of the Zionist and American Pioneers who left their 'home' countries to create new life in a new place. One is also reminded of the agricultural settlements of the Canadian Prairies[6]

A contemporary example would be an 'outsider' who wishes to join a Kibbutz as a member. The candidate had to (until very recently) almost totally surrender to the new place and to the community. To start with, (and this aspect is one of the toughest for most candidates) there is substantial sacrifice of physical movement. In addition, the candidate had little control over his new living accommodations or workplace. In other words:

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[6]. The type of commitment described under the title The Pioneer is of course much less required currently.

although the candidate made the initial decision- to move to a Kibbutz, he has to make a home under circumstances which are primarily beyond his control[7]

A note about individualism and commitment.

When people equate individualism with freedom of movement the latter becomes almost a mission (See Bellah,1986). "In America" noted Scott Russell Sanders (Utne Magazine,1985) "The promised land has always been over the next ridge, never under our feet...Stand still, we are warned, and you die...to be modern, enlightened, fully of our time is to be displaced".

I am not suggesting, however, that individualists are inherently unwilling or incapable of making a commitment to a new place or to grounding and centering themselves in new place, (in other words call the new place home). First of all, they might be able to call any new place a home for, as was noted, the individualist carries his center with him- the center (ideally) is unrelated to and independent of a specific place and can be established anywhere. Secondly, one must not forget that The Pioneer is another mythic figure in American culture. As noted, the Pioneer is totally committed to his new place. One can indeed be an individualist and a pioneer and most of the original pioneers were probably staunch individualists.

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[7]. There are other instances, of people who never left home but derive their sense of identity from a place:

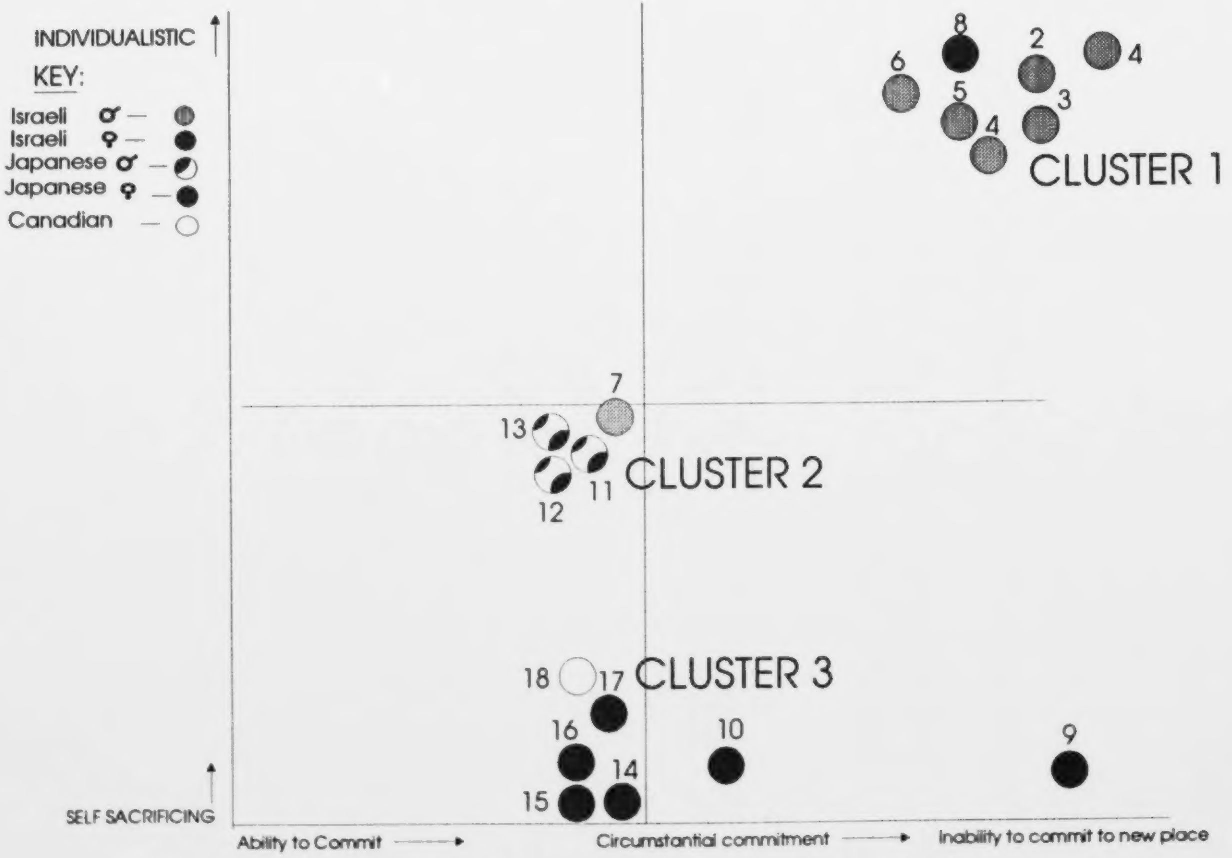
1. The quintessential Kibbutznik who already filled every role on the Kibbutz (see Shmulik in "Israel, A Cultural Case Study, Chapter Two). This is someone who in fact made a career of living in a Kibbutz.

2. John Bullard (see Utne Magazine,1993) made a profession of his place of residence- New Bedford, Massachusetts. Bullard has been working and living in New Bedford as an architect, Director of Fisheries and as Mayor. Bullard's home became his specialty. "The rewards of staying in one place and making it a career are immense" writes Bullard..."There is a connection to time, place and people that serves as an anchor in an uncertain world".

I would also mention the Palestinian phenomenon of Ztumud (See "The Yellow Wind" by David Grossman,1987). Ztumud ('Staying', or 'clinging') is a manifestation of total commitment and identification with a place. It is principally a state of mind, but has behavioral ramifications, namely the refusal of the Palestinians in refugee camps to leave their place of residence, or even to improve their living conditions.

As can be expected, most immigrants are located on an axis somewhere between the Salesman and the Pioneer. Very few people are "Ideal Types".I met people on a continuum of accepting their place of immigration as home under their particular circumstances, to people who staunchly refuse to do so.

Graph # 3 ~ Cluster Analysis of selected participants



Note: No objective criteria were used to situate individuals on this graph. The analysis merely illustrates how participants might be placed relative to one another on the axes.

EXCHANGE NO. 1

Israeli 1: Good morning, my name is Ilan Magat. I am a Ph.D. student at the Sociology department in the U.of A.

Israeli 2: And...

Israeli 1: My thesis is about home.

Israeli 2: So...

Israeli 1: I would like to talk to you about the issue

Israeli 2: There is really nothing to talk about. Home is Israel. What else is there to say.

Israeli 1: Yes, but I understand you have been living in Canada for more than twenty years...

Israeli 2: So what's your point?

EXCHANGE NO. 2

Israeli: Good afternoon.

Japanese: Hello

Israeli: Lovely day, isn't it.

Japanese: Indeed. It had been a rather mild winter, don't you think?

Israeli: Well, I have been here for eight years and I have never seen this much snow...

Japanese: I have to agree.

(after twenty minutes of conversation).

Israeli: As I said on the phone, my thesis topic is home...

Japanese: Home. That's very interesting. Now, exactly what kind of home are you talking about?

Israeli: Well, this is what I would like to examine with you.

Japanese: Because there are so many different kinds of home. Do you mean home as a country, or home in the narrow meaning of, well, home...I want a clear definition .. Can you be more specific?

One of the few Israeli participants who paused before providing an answer to the question "whereis your home" was a woman (#10) who had been living in Canada for more than two decades. "The truth" she said "is I am quite confused. On the one hand Israel is, and will always stay, my home. On the other hand I have two grown up children in Toronto. So I really don't know anymore where home is".

Upon hearing her reply, the woman's spouse (#3), the father of the above mentioned children (who was present at the initial meeting) stared at her as if he just found out his wife had been an Iraqi spy for the past ten years. He just could not believe his ears. He was angry. He felt betrayed. "What do you mean you don't know where home is" he demanded. "When did that happen"? he then turned to me with a reassurance that: "This is all new to me. I had no idea this is how she feels. I was positive that for her, just as for me, Israel is home". It should be mentioned that the husband is the culprit (the term used both by him and his wife) in the family's departure from Israel.

In spite of her raising a family here and her being a successful career woman, his wife later described her life in Canada as "a tree without roots".

I shall now turn to the analysis of the findings presented in Chart #3. I shall focus principally on the comparison between Japanese and Israelis and include other nationals only inasmuch as they can illuminate dimensions of the primary clusters.

CLUSTER # 1: INDIVIDUALISTIC, UNABLE TO COMMIT

INTRODUCTION.

Yoash Medini is a blunt representative of Israelis in cluster #1. This cluster is comprised of seven Israeli men and one Israeli woman. Participants in this cluster expressed the least capability or willingness to let go of Israel and to call Canada home. They expressed very little commitment to the new place. The Home explored here is the Big Home, and it means much more than place of residence, or even the place one raises a family. Home is also the point of ultimate return.

They spoke of home in terms of ultimate loyalty and belonging to a larger configuration or entity. They equated home with national Identity. These participants were seduced by Canada, but did not have much respect for the place, and (in some cases) for themselves in the place. Calling a place 'home' indicates (for them) ultimate respect for the place- and these participants refuse to pay Canada that respect. They never even considered it a viable option to do so (although they might live here for the better part of their lives).

To the extent that relationships between person and country (and the creation of home) can be compared to a partnership, these participants seem to argue: this place does not deserve being my partner. I don't respect it enough to enter a true partnership. And besides, I already formed an exclusive partnership with someone else.

To the extent that relationships between immigrant and host country can be compared to interpersonal relationships, these people seem to argue: "I did not really fall in love with her (the new country). It's just for the sex (or the money). The only true home for the participants in cluster #1 was Israel. Their identities are territorialized and their center is defined by a place. Their center, in fact, remained stuck in Israel. Home seems to be such a loaded, meaningful, all encompassing term that the admission that Israel had ceased to be home is almost inconceivable. Since home equals identity, or is such a strong pillar of identity, it's removal seems to signal the collapse of the entire roof. Calling Canada home (not 'home for the season' but 'real', 'true' home or just home without 'buts') is not a possibility. It is excluded and regarded with a mixture of resentment, fear and distaste. It marks the final act of leaving, the admission of not returning, the ultimate departure. Furthermore, it signals that identities had irreversibly changed, which means that the issue of new identity has to be addressed. Israelis from cluster #1 do their best to avoid those issues. They resist change or even the acknowledgment of change. They deny any shift in their center, or the admission that the center had been already shifted. They might enjoy the place, and they certainly develop habits in the place, but they are, in a very real and crucial sense closed to the place and to the possibility of home. They don't let the place in. They do their best to defend against it, or to fight it. One of the indications for a shift in the center, or the creation of two centers is the existence of the hyphen, as in Italian-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian or even Jewish-Canadian. There is no such animal as Israeli-Canadian. The two are mutually exclusive. An Israeli-Canadian is a non-existent hybrid, an impossibility, mainly because of the implications of dual loyalties.

For example, participant no. 2 (who had been living in Canada for nearly 10 years) went to great length emphasizing satisfaction with his life in Edmonton and his unwillingness to return to Israel, which he claims he does not even miss 'at this point'. "I love Edmonton" he said "It is a charming place, so far away from everywhere, "Biktze Haolam" (at the edge, or the end of the world- in other words- very far away from the center). "Everythinghere is in slow motion, almost nothing happens. It's great".

This participant also unceasingly emphasized his removal and disconnection from the Edmonton scene and from Canadians. When asked if there is anything in Edmonton he feels connected or attached to he replied: "my computer. Other than that- not a single thing". The disconnection and detachment however, do not seem to bother him much. Not belonging does not interfere with his life at the present. His computer- his electronic sacred canopy (see Berger, 1967; Driedger, 1989)- and his family are sufficient for him to have meaningful life. He said he is not concerned with issues of belonging and identity. His identity as a family man and a research scientist does not currently clash with his living outside Israel. This participant was injured in the Yom Kippur War. His dues to Israel, he claimed, are paid.

> However, when the issue of home and identity was discussed, he said:
> "I am an Israeli. It is like a malignant tumour. Like cancer. That's it, I am screwed for life. I am an Israeli and I can't run away. I cannot cut the umbilical cord. I didn't break loose from the state of Israel"(emphasis added).

He then recited from the "Irgun's"(a pre-state guerilla organization) hymn: "Mishura yeshahrer rak hamavet", meaning: "From the line of duty, only death can dismiss". "Israel is the line of duty" he continued, "And I was not yet dismissed. I live here, my home is here today, my kids were born here, but to tell you that I will finish here? I don't believe it. I certainly see myself...Israel is home. I have no doubts now...I have no doubts Israel is home (emphasis added).

CLUSTER #1: CHARACTERISTICS

People in cluster #1, who equate home with place and national identity, make no attempt to become Canadians. They do not wish to assimilate or fit in. They stand out and almost nourish non-belonging. They accentuate temporaneity and are always aware they live out of home. As true blue Israelis they refuse to surrender to their life here.

Canada, they acknowledge, is not such a bad place. They just never gave it a chance. They might be grateful to Canada and appreciate the opportunities the place offers. They might have some respect (not much though) for Canadian characteristics such as politeness and punctuality, but they will always look at Canada and at Canadians from the outside, never cease to be the outsiders, the permanent tourists.

They never chose Canada as home, never made the decision to make it a home and are consciously trying not to make it a home. For some of them, paradoxically, 'home' might be in Canada, but Canada certainly is not 'elevated' to a HOME status. To the extent that home is a personal creation home might be here, but it is never a complete, true home, because it is in the wrong place. "Israel is like my mom, and the United states is like my wife" an Israeli emigrant is quoted (Yediot America,1992). One way to interpret this sentence is in terms of choice: one does not choose a mother. Another interpretation is in terms of bonding: the strong, deep unexplainable connection between mother and child.

The Israelis in cluster #1 have, in fact, become traditional Jews, and not just regarding the fact that one of their biggest fears is for their children to marry a non-Jewish Canadian. Like traditional Jews, these Israelis live in a moratorium. In fact, they present themselves as people living a life of procrastination. They are temporary. "A person goes away for a week and gets stuck for his whole life" writes Amos Keinan (Yediot America,1992). "He leaves home to buy a match box and loses the way back. And one day he no longer remembers why he left and why he did not return". Some of the Israelis in cluster #1 might exist in a daily state of blessed forgetfulness, but when the issue of home is raised, they immediately remember.

The book of Genesis relates the story of Abraham, the father of the Jewish nation, who used to sit at the entrance to his tent. Not entirely inside and not entirely outside, Abraham was always ready to respond, always ready to jump. People from cluster #1 partly follow this Jewish tradition- with one big difference- the traditional Jews did not have real roots anywhere. Israelis have roots, but they are untransferable. It is as if the roots are in one place and the tree (or the hydroponic plant) tries to exist somewhere else. The woman who said "I am a tree without roots" might as well have said "I am not a tree at all", for a tree symbolizes both past (the roots, which require time and depth to develop) and the future- the sky. This woman (like so many other Israelis) refuses simultaneously to plant roots and to see herself in the future here.

Realizing that Canada is not their place, some of them have already made the decision to go back. They are, however incapable of mastering the resolve to act it out. As a result, past, present and future operate as three separate time zones which are not very

well integrated. Participants in cluster #1 are never fully grounded nor centered. The title of David Grossman's book about Israeli Arabs might capture their predicament. Grossman titled his book "Present Absentees" (1993).

Polkinghorne (1988; see also Kateb,1991), proposes that we understand our destiny by attending to the plot that gathers up our scattered actions and makes them significant. The plot of the story Israelis from cluster #1 tell themselves revolves around a journey. It is clear that in the absence of a coherent story which indicates a return, they will find it hard to make sense of their lives.

CLUSTER #1: QUOTES

TOPIC: REFUSAL TO CREATE A NEW HOME.

THEME: A. NO RESPECT FOR NEW PLACE, EMPHASIS ON DETACHMENT:

"I was never interested in what is going on around here. Their (Canadian) news are so boring...I am extremely indifferent to what's going on and if I read the newspaper here it is not because of genuine interest, but out of sheer duty- because of my job I feel I have to know a bit more...but I can't make myself become interested in it". (#8)

"I have been living in this house for more than six years and I know almost nothing about my neighbors. My encounters with them consist of a three minute conversation behind the fence. I am more interested and know more about my old neighborhood in Israel". (#2)

"Vancouveris a beautiful city, but it does not move me at all. The simple hills near the Kibbutz move me much more than this beauty does" (#5)

"Those gentiles\ those Canadians\ those diaspora Jews...They lack something\ I can't stand them...They don't understand what I am talking about, what I am all about. (various participants from cluster #1).

THEME B. LONGING FOR ISRAEL AND UNQUENCHED THIRST FOR NEWS.

"I read the Israeli newspaper breathlessly, I don't miss a line" (#8)
" I inject the (Israeli) newspaper straight into my veins"..(#2)

THEME C. NO RESPECT FOR SELF IN NEW PLACE, SELF PITY, LIVING INAUTHENTICALLY:

"I feel like an unsuccessful transplant. It doesn't matter how many years I live here, I shall never belong in this place. My roots are not here. I am like a plant without roots- without form or shape"(#4).
"Here, I don't feel 'whole', I don't feel 'round' (#4)

"I don't feel 'complete', I feel 'fragmented' (#3)
"I have standard of living, but no quality of life" (#3).

"I often ask myself: "Is that it? This is why you left Israel? To improve your standard of living? I find it hard to get excited about". (#5).

"In Israel, I feel I belong to something which is larger than myself. Here I feel empty" (#5).

"I love singing. Three years ago we visited a friend on a Kibbutz. Very close to where we slept a birthday was celebrated. They were singing Homeland songs. I remember saying to myself: these people, the Kibbutzniks had earned the right to sing those songs. They live in Israel and they work the land. These are their homeland songs. When I hear those songs here (in Canada) I always remember that night, and I feel disconnected. I don't have anyone to sing with here. Here I sing Israeli homeland songs with Canadians that learn them in Talmud Torah. It is not a part of their experience. It feels so detached. So remote. Those songs belong there" (#5)

The review of Israeli culture indicates that the building materials available to Israelis in the creation of a home outside Israel are scarce. There is very little in terms of "Israeliness" which Israelis can carry with them, for there is almost nothing which is ultimately or uniquely "Israeli" (in terms, for example, of child rearing practices, or social relations). Israeli culture is of course unique, but it is almost inseparable from the place.

So while the Jews had a mobile center, a moving ark of the covenant, a transferable sacred canopy, Israelis face an almost lost struggle when it comes to moving their center, for their identities are territorialized: they are almost inseparable from the specific place which is their center- their home.

Israelis in cluster #1 do not identify themselves primarily as Jews but as Israelis. Their 'True Self' (Turner,1976) can be fully expressed only at home, in Israel. Like David (#5):

> "I miss Friday afternoons. Just stepping out of the office on Friday afternoons. Ninety nine percent of the time it would be a lovely sunny day, and people outside will be selling flowers and weekend newspapers and fruits...and I had a song in my heart. I remember it very vividly- I had a song in my heart on those Friday afternoons. Here, I don't have a song in my heart on Friday, or any day at all. Friday is just another day, with the senseless pondering of what to do on the weekend. Big deal. There is no soul in this place. I miss the feeling that I belong to something which is bigger than I am. I don't know...the meaning...
> I miss working for El Al (Israeli national airline). I was proud to work there. I felt I was working for a national asset. I would come down every morning to the company's arranged transportation, read "Ha'aretz"newspaper ("This Land, This country"),and enjoy every minute of it.
> Here, I don't feel pride in any workplace. I don't really belong to any workplace and pride doesn't even enter the formula. Work has nothing to do with belonging nor with pride".

One of the sole 'Israeli' characteristics which could be carried and exercised outside of the physical borders of Israel (at least according to participants in cluster #1) is assertiveness, bordering on aggression. Warmth and openness are also associated with Israeliness, but the participants complained they cannot be warm or open with Canadians because the latter are 'like islands', or 'like icebergs'. "It would be nice to be a able to hug someone, or just pat him on the shoulder without being charged with sexual molestation" noted an Israeli participant.

So who are Israelis if and when they don't live in Israel?

The host country might identify them in terms of their "Jewishness" but the truth is that Israelis have a complex relationship with this aspect of their identity. The incorporation of new elements into the identity- defining oneself as Jewish, is for some unacceptable. Most (secular) Israelis identify this alternative, Jewishness, as 'not Self', or even 'against (threatening to) self'. Others might be less vehement against it, but they still find the decision to join a Jewish group difficult. Almost as in the case of calling a new place 'home', becoming 'Jewish' symbolizes leaving Israel. The issue of choice is loaded, because what was offered before (and could be rejected with no second thought) has to be sought after now. Becoming Jewish smacks of surrender- something Israelis are socialized against. It has already been mentioned that Israel has a lot of 'against' components in its culture- against organized Judaism, against diaspora Jews, against surrender. Said David (#5):

> "When I first arrived here I wanted to go to work on Yom Kippur. I almost had a fight with my wife (who is a Canadian Jew). Now, it is clear to me I won't go to work, but first I had to decide what the day of atonement means to me. In Israel everything was offered and Yom Kippur was imposed. I had a 'doctor's note' not to choose. Here, I don't have this note. I have to take responsibility for my decisions, for the way I live. A personal, individual decision. Because no one around me really cares if I celebrate or observe - the world has it's daily routine to follow. I had a difficult decision to make".
> "I feel I belong to the Jewish world now" David continued. "I missed the sense of belonging to something big, so the 'big' forme is Jud...Jews. This is belonging now".

David still has mixed feelings, though, about the process. "I will play down my Jewishness, unlike my wife who is very outspoken about it. At Passover she brought a traditional Jewish dish to the office. I would never dream of doing a thing like that".

Most Israelis are not able (or never tried) to satisfactorily 'adopt' Jewishness as a substitute or compensation for the loss of their Israeliness. They might light candles on the

Sabbath or attend the synagogue occasionally, but the 'hole' which was created by the removal of Israel is too big to fill with these tokens of belonging.

The most apparent instance of the contradiction between Jewishness and Israeliness is expressed on Independence Day and Commemoration Day. Then, one of the most significant part of the Israeli gestalt (people who sacrificed their lives so WE can live safely) is presented bare and naked outside its context (Israeli society), in fact in contrast to its context (they paid and we left). Many Israeli immigrants are painfully aware of that situation.

> "I remember sitting there, on independence day, thinking: "Who the hell are those (Jewish Canadian) people? What do they understand about Israel and about people who fought and died for Israel? For a very long time I refused to put myself in the same camp with them. The whole thing seemed so phony. Because Commemoration day is an Israeli thing, not a Jewish thing (#5).

The woman in cluster #1 (#8) is an observant Jew with two small children (ages 7 and 4), who attend the Jewish school. I don't think she will object to my description of her as a "veryambitious, very Israeli woman".She took care of her ambitions by completing a Ph.D. in her second language in record time. Her "Israeliness" is exemplified by her warmth and openness, and by her instruction of Israeli folk dancing and Hebrew classes. Another manifestation is her unwillingness to accept Canada as home and an unrelenting resistance to the place. She is grateful for the immense opportunities Canada offers, but emphasized the temporaneity of her situation. "I am making the distinction between living the moment and the long term- where do I really want to live and what I really want to do. A very big distinction. My real home is Israel, this is where I belong and this is where I should be. My home in Edmonton is a temporary, not real home".

> "I just live here", she said, "But really...my life is there".
> Q: What do you mean 'My life is there'?
> A: I mean my real life. I live here temporarily. Really, my real place, my home is there...and that is where I should be (her emphases).
> Q: It sounds as if there are two kind of life, real life and vacation life.
> A: Absolutely. I am living a vacation now (for more than 10 years). I am living right in the moment. It is my place for now, because I have work here and I am very happy, but I might be out of here any second. I won't hesitate leaving this place the moment I feel I have exhausted it. Because this is not my place. This is really not my place. And as years pass, as time goes by and although I have been living here for a long time, the place does not become any more mine. Time does not change my basic feelings. I am not becoming more Canadian or feeling less Israeli. No, not a bit, not for the world, and I don't think it will change with time. I have been living here long enough. If anything was going to change, it should have changed by now.

Orna can fully live only within the geographical boundaries of the center. There, real life is waiting for her to be lived (see Eliade's description of the center). There, where she belongs, existence is real. Outside the center, in the periphery[8], existence is un-real, inauthentic, vacation like. If it is not in the center, if it is not at home, it is not life. It is, in my mind, a clear manifestation of an either\or world view. Following is her description of what she felt upon receiving her Canadian citizenship:

> "Nothing...Nothing meaningful...Nothing at all. I think I received it with a smile... I was laughing at the whole process. Nothing was serious. I was doing it, but my heart was certainly not beating with excitement. Let's put it this way: it was a patronizing, condescending smile, as if I was looking down on myself and the whole process from above. I knew I had to go through the ritual, but to hear the patriotic, vehement speech of the judge...I had no patriotic feelings, nothing was important... I do not have anything against Canada, of course. I do have a lot of respect and gratitude toward the place, and I do understand there are people who would give a lot to be here. In fact, there were such people in the ceremony I attended. But I did not feel that way, because I have another place. It is not as if I came there as a refugee and I am grateful to Canada from the bottom of my heart. I am here today, but tomorrow I could be gone. I am in control. I can 'close shop' any time I want... look, I have no sentiments...I have no...this certificate means nothing to me. I need

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[8]. See also Greenfield and Martin (1988)

> it only for bureaucratic reasons. To say I had any feeling...any particular happiness? I don't believe I joined, or became a part of this nation...

Orna's immediate, lived experience stands in contrast to her values and beliefs. An obvious instance is citizenship day, when she is supposed to go through the ultimate 'non-self', 'anti-identity' act in terms of loyalty - receiving Canadian citizenship. So she separates from her body and looks at the whole process, herself included, with a condescending smile. In order to better live with the dilemmas she described, Orna 'devised' or adopted a defense mechanism. It protects her from thinking about her 'missing', 'absent' life in Israel:

> "I don't let myself think" she says. "I draw a curtain and order myself to ignore the thought. I manage to do it when memories of my (late) father come and when I think about my life here and going back to Israel. I shift my thoughts to something happier. That's it. I do it simply in order not to spoil the day for myself.
> "I have photo albums (where both her late father and her life in Israel are represented), but I try not to look at them, because it pinches my heart...I...you see...this is the thing of drawing a curtain. This is the part that helps me cope. To live happily in the moment. But it takes a lot of practice...

The only Israeli male who did not fall into cluster #1 (#7) also equated home with identity. He was the only Israeli (male or female) who said "Afterliving here for twenty five years I am more Canadian now than Israeli. I have to admit my home is here now. This is where I feel most comfortable. I am married to a Canadian, I vote, I read the newspapers, I voice my opinions, I feel connected to Edmonton and what happens here affects me. I even dream in English. My wife speaks English and my kids don't speak Hebrew. I used to feel a bit uncomfortable and self conscious about that but no more. I made a decision to live here, and when you make a decision, you make an investment.

Q: So are you going to stay here?
A: Are you nuts? Don't ever say that. Next week I am going on a trip to Israel and I shall look for any chance to stay there. Maybe this time, at last, it will work out".

This participant was alluding to his failed attempts to re-locate his family in Israel. He tried and failed (his term) at least a dozen times in the past, being defeated repeatedly by the harshness of the place and his inability to commit. He spoke of himself as a member of "the lost generation of Israelis who can never make up their minds".

Another reason many Israelis hesitate to call Canada home is their awareness that their 'home' here might be erected on a sand dune. This awareness might be sub-conscious, pre-conscious or fully conscious, but it is always accessible. It is the awareness they might have to escape. The first 'need' which home corresponds to is shelter, and Israel is always the ultimate protector for Israelis. They always have a place to go physically. "WheneverI hear the name Keegstra I immediately think of running away to Israel", noted a participant. The woman who made the remark had been living here more than twenty years. Yet her taken for granted world is not really for granted, for it can be shaken (not shattered, but certainly shaken) fairly easily by the mention of a name that implies anti-semitism. Israelis don't surrender to the place because it is not safe to surrender.

It was also noted that home, both personal and national is a place where one is a safe hero, where one makes a difference just by being. Cultures, especially cultures with a revolutionary ethos, ideally provide this sense of safe heroism and symbolic immortality (See Becker,1973; Lifton,1968; Yalom,1980).

Israelis are not needed in Canada. At least not in the sense they are (allegedly) needed in Israel[9]. They might experience rejection and even if someone wants them to come here, 'claims' them (a big organization for example), it is principally on economic grounds, and not because they are loved or needed in any other way. Yordim's newspapers occasionally publish horror stories regarding illegal Israeli immigrants and their struggle with immigration authorities (Yedioth America,1990), as well as practical advice on how to be granted residence in North America. In order to be able to live here Israelis, who arrive from a place where they are accepted unconditionally, have to prove their worth. They have to convince immigration officials they have something to offer. They have to gain 'points' and their acceptance is qualified. In an ideal home one does not need qualifications. The exchange, then, between (prospective) citizen and Canada resembles more an economic exchange and has very little to do with belonging and identity, which were 'exchanged' when home in Israel was discussed. For Israelis, then, Canadian citizenship carries very different meanings than Israeli citizenship.

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[9]. The Israeli government, in association with the Jewish agency, subsidise the flights of Yordim who wish to return "home".

Participants in cluster #1 'fit' the dominant mood and tone of publications in which Yordim write about themselves. The mood can be very simply be characterized as: 'The world is sharply and distinctly divided into two categories. One is HOME-CENTER-ISRAEL. The other NOT HOME- OUT OF CENTER- THE REST OF THE WORLD. Some sub- themes are: "Wemight be slime, but we remain patriotic, we did not betray","Leaving was a big mistake", "Don't envy us, not everything is golden in America and we miss Israel tremendously","What are we doing here?","Our children are paying the price" and so on.

It has been reported that Israelis are deserting Los Angeles 'in droves' after the latest earthquakes. "The quakes brought the best from the citizens here" reported Ztadok Yehezkely (Yediot Aharonot,1994) "But Israelis lack the motivation to put the city back on track. They did not contribute, did not participate in the renovation efforts"."If I was an American I would probably have stayed here" Roni Mazooz told the reporter. But Mazooz, who had seven very successful and prosperous years in L.A.concluded that "As an Israeli, I prefer to cope with problems of my own home and not with strangers' problems"...

Assorted quotes and scenarios to illustrate the lives of the immigrants in cluster #1.

1.

> "Sometime I wonder who the real homeless is: the person without shelter in the New York subway, or you and I, living far away from ha'aretz (the homeland), without a real home, with no connection and belonging, with no loyalty, with no love (Yediot America,1990).

2. The name of the Akiva Frid's column in "Yediot America" - "Temporary exile".[10]

3. "The writer of these lines, in his many sins, lives not in Israel, but in the Canadian diaspora (Avi Kimhi, Yediot America,1990)".

4. In his film "1967 was a good year for tourism" director Amit Goren portrays his mother, who for fifteen years refused to buy a living room sofa because she was on her way back to Israel (Yediot America,1992).

5."Ofra and Yaniv- it's time to change the suitcases, you have been sitting on them for ten years" (a personal message in Yediot America,1993).

6."Living in Rochester, for Yosi and Hannah is a sort of temporary detachment (although they have been living there for a long time)- "as if we took a long vacation in the Caribbean" (Yediot America,1992)

7."Passover vividly demonstrates how dissociated, disconnected, displaced and uprooted we are. (a letter to a psychologist, Yediot America,1991).

8."If you have problems with your children, register to a workshop for Israeli parents whose children are ashamed of them". (Yediot America,1993).

9."The only thing we have to do is contribute, donate generously for the well being of the I.D.F. soldiers, who enable us to live proudly and hold our heads high all across the diaspora" (Yediot America,1989).

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[10]. Yordim's supplement of the popular Israeli newspaper Yediot Anaronot.

10.

> "They(the children of Yordim) are Americans. But they are not regular Americans. They are regular children who underwent a brainwash...and the worst thing about them is that in their eyes there is not one drop of sorrow. In fact- their gaze is completely hollow. Like the gaze of brainwashed people (Mirit Pik, L'aisha,1989)

About the parents of the above mentioned children Pik writes:

> "They will never be Americans. They will never return to be Israelis. And between what was and what will never be there is the great nothingness. These people do not exist. Only at night, after their American children go to sleep they pretend they are still alive. They collect faint memories of familiar tastes and pathetically embrace old frozen gossip. Another drop of salad imitation. Another drop of past disguised as present... In blood chilling despair they hunt for every bit of authentic Israeli 'prey' and suck...suck...suck...Like Vampires".

11. The following open letter was addressed to a one year old baby, the son of an Israeli couple living in Edmonton. It was supposedly written by another baby- the one year old son of the Israeli Shaliach (messenger) to this community.

> "Nitzan my friend: I don't envy you. In few years you will attend highschool and try to hide the fact you are Jewish...Godhelp you if you try and speak Hebrew...
> And the main thing is: when I will join the army to protect our state, you will attend university and become a lawyer or a doctor, many years before I even start my university education. But never mind, I will serve in the army and protect our state for you as well...Niztan my friend, you have really nice parents, but what they are interested in is only money. Money is important, but values, belonging, identity, Jewish education are more important.
> And in few years, when you bring home your beautiful bride and invite your parents to your wedding at the church across the street, your parents will look at each other and ask: "where did we go wrong?"(Edmonton Jewish Newspaper,1989).

There are, however, other voices. Not surprisingly, the voices belong to women. The first is a woman who had been living for many years in New York.

> "After a month or two in Israel I start missing home. And my home is here, where I raised a family. This is the story of Lea Goldberg, about the wandering bird who experiences the pain of the two motherlands. I have good friends, but my best friends are Israelis. At home I speak and think English; cry, laugh and rest in Hebrew "(Aviva Barzel, Bamahane 1988).

The other voice belongs to Nili Drori an ex-Israeli, ex-national fencing champion who married a Muslim and moved to Turkey:

> "Now Turkey is my country. My family is here and so my future is here. An Israeli stays an Israeli, so I keep myself away from my Israeliness. There is no Falafel here and no Arik Ainstein. I stopped reading Hebrew books and listening to Israeli music, so I won't split my personality" (Yediot Aharonot,1992) .

These voices take us to clusters #2 and #3.

However, before I turn to the analysis of clusters #2 and #3, I believe a review of Japanese culture is required. The review is provided in order to anchor some of the findings presented later.

REVIEW OF JAPANESE CULTURE

From the vast literature regarding Japanese culture and national character, the following points are relevant to this study[1]:

1. Japanese value system, which can be traced back to the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), and is characterized by Bushido (the way of the Warrior) emphasize selfless devotion to one's master, loyalty and filial piety.

2. Shinto, the indigenous religion (it is, in fact, more than a religion, it is "The way of Japan" (Ross,1965; Ishida,1974)- is Polytheistic and non-exclusionary. One can practice Shintoism and Buddhism (and more) at the same time. In addition, very much unlike the monotheistic, harsh Judaism, there is no sense of sinfulness in Shinto, no great flood, no Ten Commandments, no heaven nor hell.

Marsella (1985) notes that the western concept of the self is to a large part influenced by a monotheistic tradition in western thought which may lead to a more individualistic perception of the world.

> Experience is considered either true or false. There are dichotomous definitions rather than the more amorphous diverseness of thought that exists in Polytheism. Monotheistic normative systems are more narrowly bipolar and may enforce the necessity for judgment about qualities of existence which are directed also toward the self. These bipolarities are positively and negatively judgmental, such as good versus bad, beautiful versus ugly, love versus hate etc (p. 13).

This attitude is echoed in "Rules for Meditation" (Zazen, Zen Buddhist meditation) in which it is stated that: "When opposites (or dualities) arise, you have almost lost your chance for salvation".

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[1] The review is based on the following books and articles: Bella,1957,1967; Befu,1980; Rolland,1988; Shillony,1991 Lifton,1970; Jeremy and Robinson,1989; Ben Dassen,1972; Condon,1984; Benedict,1946; Silberman,1962; Hall and Beardsley,1965; Lebra and Lebra,1974).

3. The Japanese, note Jeremy and Robinson (1989), have traditionally conceptualized the family as a frame through which living members are passing, through which ancestors have already passed, and towards which the unborn are heading. It is a frame which affords brief but transient illumination in an irresistible temporal continuum. The duties of the living lie in the preservation of the frame, in ensuring that it survives their own mortality to welcome future generations and to make certain that the dead are neither neglected nor forgotten.

The distinctiveness of the Japanese family, and certainly of the ie ideal[2] lies in this concept of continuity from the unborn, the living and the dead and in the acceptance of the peculiar responsibilities which this imposes.

4. The status of the individual, or self in Japan is interesting. As mentioned, it is more of a "we-self" in comparison to the Westernized "I-self". Ch'eng hao, one of the greatest of the new-Confucians, argued that the original state of the individual is oneness with the cosmos (Bellah,1957). One also dies into the cosmos (Lifton,1970). Barriers are erected only when ego manifests itself. Therefore, it is important to try and eliminate the ego, in order to return to the original state of harmony and oneness with the universe.

Two terms that illustrate the status of the individual in Japanese society are On and Amae (Benedict,1946; Doi,1974). The idea behind On (and Hoon- the return of On) is that the individual is helpless and worthless by himself and exists only due to favors bestowed on him by others, favors he must try and repay. However, he can only repay an infitessimal amount. Benedict (1946) notes that On has the same dynamic as the original sin.

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[2]. Jeremy and Robinson(1989) explain that ie can be regarded as a "House", as in "The House of Windsor".

Amae (a form of Amaeru) means "basking in (or counting on) the love of another". It is a term that strongly suggests fusion. Doi writes that some of his Japanese patients reported no sense of ego boundary or individuality, except for a strong desire for Amae. However, Amae occurs not only in the mother-child relationship and the intimacy relationships of friends and marriage, but also in various hierarchical relationships. Doi believed motivation in Japanese relationships to be primarily centered on this need for being passively loved and nurtured, and derived this need in adult life from the prolonged nurturing mother-child relationship. Doi's emphasis on Amae is closely related to Francis. K. Hsu's (1985) stress on the qualitative or emotional nature of intimacy relationships in societies such as China and India and to Roland's (1988) focus on symbiosis- reciprocity.

Later writers (Kumagai,1981; Lebra,1976; Taketomo,1985) have critiqued Doi's theory of Amae, particularly on his neglect to realize the profound interdependence and intimacy between two persons. That is, the motivation of the person who gratifies the one who wants gratification is equally central; thus Amae should be seen as a "metalanguage" as Taketomo (1984) proposes to connote this interdependent interaction with its complementary motivations, rather than as the motivation of the dependent person alone. Roland (1988) also argues that the person who gratifies the other is also being given to, so that certain narcissistic needs are satisfied and intimacy is heightened by mutual gratification.

In terms of child rearing, socialization practices, work, philosophy and psychotherapy the Japanese emphasize what Weistz et. al. (1984) term secondary control, in other words, they "Enhance their rewards by accommodating to existing realities and maximizing satisfaction or goodness of fit with things as they are". These practices stand in sharp contrast to the Western emphasis on primary control in which individuals "enhance their rewards by influencing existing realities (e.g., other people, circumstances, symptoms, or behavior problems" (p.955). Weistz et. al. do not use the term "surrender", but I think it captures the essence of their analysis. "We are not very tenacious people" noted one of the Japanese participants. "Very much unlike you, the Israelis. We accommodate"[3].

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[3] . The same point is made by Halberstam (1986), in his description of the Japanese surrender in the Second World War.

CLUSTERS #2 AND #3

THE FISH (by T. Hiramatus:1993)

A long way away from home

They have been brought

And yet, these goldfish...

Already seem to enjoy

Swimming in Canadian Waters

(Translated from the Japanese by Robert Y. Kadoguchi)

I shall start with some of the findings common to Japanese participants, regardless of gender.

1. Although all the Japanese participants indicated their home is in Canada, none of them (except one- #14) indicated s\he is 'a Canadian'. In other words, Japanese do not equate home with national identity and culture. The Japanese participants, furthermore, indicate that 'Japaneseness' is what one does- how one raises children, one's perception of team, one's relations with family and colleagues, or how one's funeral is conducted- and not (as is the case for Israelis) where one lives. In other words, because Japaneseness is manifested in action, it is possible to remain a Japanese outside Japan. One has to simply follow the Japanese way- act in a Japanese manner and do Japanese things. Although they emigrate from a culture which emphasizes community, land and nationality (see Lifton,1970;Ben Dassen,1972; Shilloni,1991; Lebra and Lebra,1974),Japanese immigrants, males and females alike, do not feel they live out, or away from an irreplaceable,

untransferable center.

I am not suggesting the land, or the state, are not important for the Japanese. They are, however, able to take it for granted- very much unlike their Israeli counterparts. I assume the differences are related to the particular historical predicament of the peoples. It was noted that the Japanese have traditionally been people without diaspora, while the Jews (until fairly recently) have been people without a land. Israelis do not, and cannot take the land (or the state) for granted and they have a sense of personal responsibility for its maintenance. The Japanese, in contrast are able take both land and state for granted. "Japan will always be there" said more than one Japanese participant. In a metaphorical sense, because the land is always there, the Japanese are able to carry it with them wherever they go[4].

The Japanese take more responsibility for their decisions to emigrate and embrace their new life in Canada. They surrender to their predicament with no remorse and self pity is entirely absent from their accounts. They missed Japan, expressed longing and sometime sadness, but were not possessed by the place. They were able to let go of it. An instance of the this remarkable ability to let go (in comparison to the Israeli tendency to hang on), is the fact that none of the Japanese participants mentioned either the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, nor the Japanese internment in the Second World War. Almost all Israeli participants mentioned the holocaust[5].

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[4] There are, however, no significant number of Shinto shrines outside Japan.

[5]. "Those silences are a huge part of my identity, my other identity, of my other heritage" says Michael Fugushima in a film he made about his father, Minoru, who was forced to go back to Japan during the Second World War (Fugushima,1985).

There was no resentment in the Japanese' accounts, not for themselves nor for Canada. They never used derogatory terms to describe their predicament. None of them spoke about his or her life as 'a mistake' or used terms such as 'unreal' or 'vacation'.None of the Japanese described his or her predicament in terms of 'suspension' or 'moratorium'. One of the main reasons Japanese were able to do so is because they maintain a clear definition of loyalty. Another way to put it might be: Japanese don't let their loyalties clash.

Unlike their Israeli counterparts, Japanese successfully shifted their center. They were equipped with better (or more available) building blocks to create their new home and were able to transfer, or re-create their 'sacred canopy' ('meaning system') in the new country. Japanese participants demonstrate better grounding and centering, and were able to make the commitment to live fully in the present- not look remorsefully to the past or hopefully to the future. They felt no need to search for replacements or substitutes for their nationality or sense of belonging, (as was the case for some Israelis who turned to Judaism).

Japanese referred to home in INSTRUMENTAL, DESCRIPTIONAL AND CONCRETE, terms, not in terms of ultimate belonging and national identity. They were referring to the small home. "Home is a base", "home is a place where you live, that's all".

> "Edmonton is my home, but when you ask if I identify with Canadian or Japanese it is a completely different question. For me home means a physical home, a house, where I work, but deep inside I regard myself as a Japanese". (#12)

> "For me the definition of home is where I go and where I live. It is not Canada. It's the house, in Edmonton. It is the place. It has nothing to do with a mental state, or identity or nationality. They are completely different from that idea of home" (#15)

Q: Is Canada your home, or Edmonton, or St. Albert, or the particular house in St. Albert?
A: (pause): I think the house in St. Albert is the home, for me (#16).

There are no 'buts' in these accounts, no qualifications, no reservations, not "For now", not "But I am moving soon", not "I don't think I will finish my life here".

CLUSTER # 2-INTERMEDIATE ON BOTH DIMENSIONS

Three Japanese males comprise this cluster, as well as the Israeli male discussed earlier (#7).

"..I think home is here" said a Japanese man (#15) "Home is a base for our daily life and I think it is here. If you ask me if culturally I am a Canadian or a Japanese, I am definitely a Japanese. It is something I cannot shake off. I didn't know how Japanese I was...I had no idea how deep Japanese culture (Japaneseness) is ingrained in me. I am finding it out now after 30 years of being out of Japan. I found out I am nothing but a Japanese".

> "I understand Canadian culture (the man continued), but at the bottom of my thinking I am still a Japanese. And the strongest Japanese thing about me is my perception of team and group. I always define myself in the team, and it is quite different from the understanding of my Canadian colleagues and subordinates. For them a team is a temporary arrangement, based on individual merit, in order to achieve a goal. I never think that the group is for myself. I never think in selfish terms and it is hard for me to view a team as something we put together to achieve something. A team is something I belong to. It is not based on individual merit. Everyone has a part, everyone belongs and everyone has to work together, even if they don't like each other particularly. Like (the essence of) Japaneseness, it is something which is very hard to describe. Although a team might be temporary, and government jobs usually are, I always assume that a team is permanent.

This is essentially the way Japanese participants view immigration and life in Canada. It might be temporary, but as long as they are here they have to contribute to the best of their abilities. It might be temporary, but Japanese don't let this fact stand in the way of their approach to everyday life. Loyalty is given to the small, face to face group, not to some big, unspecified, ephemeral group such as a nation. Home is grounded in other people. The ultimate loyalty is given, of course to the family. And since the family is in Canada, home is here.

For example, both Yoav (#2) and Mr. Tesshi (#12), said they are not Canadians.

The main difference between them is that Yoav never tried. Another important difference is that Yoav equates home with identity, personal and national, while Mr. Tesshi is able to separate the two. He is "nothing else but a Japanese", but his home is here. His loyalties are to his family and to his work group (which is comprised, of course, of non- Japanese). I am not suggesting Yoav is not loyal to his family, but this component is much less salient in his account about home, loyalty or why he is staying in Canada. Yoav emphasizes temporaneity and the right of freedom of movement, while Mr. Tesshi emphasizes commitment and obligations.

Consider the following account, in which Mr. Tesshi describes his 'new','second' life in Canada. Mr. Tesshi left Japan in order to pursue 'individualistic', 'selfish' goals- he wanted to experience life outside Japan and to attend graduate school. He never intended to leave Japan permanently. However, he decided to stay in Canada after realizing that 'my family is a Canadian family' (in fact, only his children are Canadians). His account underlines the ability to center and ground one's self in a new place, take responsibility for actions and to actively commit to a new society. In other words, the account underlines the theme of being open to the possibility of shifting the center:

> "Our family started a new life in Lethbridge. We had to build our Canadian life there. It was the first time I had to assume my responsibilities as a Canadian. It was the end of my moratorium, my grace (university) period of four years. I felt we were starting a second life, because we had a second son, and my sansei, my children grew up in Canada. I had a job and I had to assume the responsibilities that come with it. At the same time, raising a family gave me a new perspective on how to live in Canadian society. I think that is why for the first time I felt I was living in a foreign country. When I was in Vancouver, sure, I enjoyed all kinds of different things, but I always observed it as a visitor, from the outside. I thought I was going back, you know, that I am in Canada just as a tourist...Curious about many things, thinking 'how wonderful this is', or 'how not wonderful that is,' but always in comparison to Japan. But in Lethbridge my perspectives changed. Because of my job

> responsibilities and my family responsibilities I realized that this is a society where I may live for a long time. It meant we had to somehow establish ourselves in that society and build relationships with Canadians. I took the challenge of living in a foreign land.
> Q: What do you mean by a 'challenge'?
> A: We had to make friends with basically ordinary Canadians, with whom we never had any previous contact. We were forced to do so. So we exposed ourselves more fully to the Canadian way of life and I think that was the challenge.
> I: When you talk about a challenge, it sounds almost like a task.
> A: I suppose it was something of a task.

In other words: Mr. Tesshi made an effort to assimilate, to surrender, if you like, to the new place. He respects the new place and views behavioral change as a challenge. Mr. Tesshi tries to maximize the goodness of fit between his behavior and the new environment. He makes an effort to fit in. There is no contemplation of keeping a distance, fighting the place or denying predicament. Instead, there is a clear realization the moratorium period has ended, therefore something needs to be done. So Mr. Tesshi was going to do whatever needed to be done. There is no self pity or allowance for residues from the past to be dragged into the present. There is no sense of temporaneity in the account. The lines between past, present and future are clear. Life is now. Real life is in the present.

This attitude is considerably different from the one expressed by participants in cluster #1. For example, none of the Israeli participants spoke of life in Canada as 'second life'. The notion of second life implies closure- one of the more important elements in grounding and centering. Japanese are able to 'cut'.Israelis, in general, 'drag' the past into the present.

When describing his family, Mr. Tesshi said:

> "After we moved to Lethbridge and my second child was born I realized that my family is sort of a Canadian family...
> When my children were small, we didn't really think of the implication of bringing children up in Canada. We thought they will grow up like us, they will be Canadians but with very deep understanding of Japanese culture. I understand both sides of the ocean and I thought my children will be the same.
> But I realized that growing up here is different. My children can be best described as Canadians with Japanese parents. They don't have dual culture- they are Canadians with some understanding of Japanese culture. And when I realized that I thought 'gee, we are in fact a Canadian family. So the longer I lived in Canada, the less chance there was of moving the whole family back to Japan".

When Mr. Tesshi says: "The longer I lived in Canada the less chance there was of moving the family back to Japan" the reason is not himself or his wife. It is because the children are Canadians. Compare to what Yoav (#2) who said: "I might get up one morning and see that North America has nothing to offer me any more, that I have exhausted the place.

> "The reason I said I might move back to Japan (continues Mr. Tesshi) is that our older son just got married and lives in Vancouver and our second son is a university student here and he has only one year to go. Once he finishes university, our responsibilities for (our) children, at least the major portion of those responsibilities, will be over. Again, we will be living here alone. We won't be living with Canadians anymore.

And he explains:

> "My wife and I have been living for years with two Canadians in our family. Now, our Canadian children are independent. Again, we are back to being a Japanese family- my wife and I. Again, it will become our decision, my wife's and my decision, to choose were to live.
> We came to Canada as a Japanese family- just the two of us. We then had Canadian family. We took care of them. Now we are back to square one, in a way, and now I might have another chance...not a chance but a junction, where to live, how we live.

So although Japanese men can be characterized as 'individualistic' (they are much more 'individualistic' than the women), this 'individualistic' tendency was softened by their strong 'self sacrificing' dimension, expressed primarily in their care for their families. All expressed commitment to living in Canada and to calling Canada home as long as present circumstances prevail, usually until children grow up.

In this respect Japanese are not very different from participants in cluster #1, who say "my home is here now". However, participants in cluster #1 emphasized temporaneity, remoteness and individuality regarding the decision whether to move or not and refused to call Canada home. On the other hand, Japanese (males and females alike) emphasized stability, involvement and family. None of them indicated that 'tomorrow I might pack and leave'. In a way they suspended themselves from making the decision regarding movement. They relegated this power to someone else. In addition, for the Japanese the term Home was not so loaded.

The issue of dual loyalties did come up- but it was never in the context of family vs. state, or family vs. self. If there were conflicting loyalties it was between two generations of the family, parents in Japan and children in Canada, past and present. Japanese are very clear when it comes to loyalties and responsibilities.

> "Though I wanted to go back before, I had to consider my responsibilities as a head of a family, which are now almost over. I felt that now, after everybody is O.K., my kids are grown up, the house is paid, my wife had a position and so on, I can quit and go back to Japan. (#11)

Even after many years of living in Canada, Japanese emigrants don't fully belong in Canadian society. But in comparison to their Israeli counterparts from cluster #1, belonging to a culture, a state or a nation seems to be much less salient. For Japanese, in other words, not belonging is much less problematic. Japanese immigrants created a life here: they did not come to 'exhaust' the place. In fact, they were and are willing and able to contribute to Canadian society. "I would like to stay here and I don't want to think of myself as taking advantage of the place and eventually going back to Japan" noted a Japanese male (#13)". This participant, a scientist, indicated that he never hesitated to compromise his 'pure' academic research in favour of application research, for "I think I had to give something back to the community". "Whereveryou are, that's your place" he claimed.

Behaving this way is a moral law, for if one does not contribute s\he is not an ethical or moral person. Personal feelings do not matter, for in the universal law of morality loyalty and contributions are the main pillars.

Zen Master Thich Nhat Hanh (see Sanders,Utne Magazine,1993) promotes a similar approach: "This spot, where you sit is your own spot" he argued. "It is on this very spot and in this very moment that you can become enlightened. You don't have to sit beneath a special tree in a distant land".

One of the Japanese men in cluster #2 (#11) even committed an act which might be described as 'altruistic (professional) suicide'. Characteristically, it involved taking responsibility and paying back 'dues' to the community- not merely milking or exhausting it:

> "I was not happy working for this (governmental) agency. Every year I had to chop twenty or thirty positions- I had eliminated almost eighty positions when I worked there. I had great difficulty letting young Canadians go while I am not even a Canadian. I am a Japanese, but because I had the responsibility, I had to chop. After the third time I felt 'that's it, I can't do this job anymore'. I just thought somebody had to take responsibility. How can you keep on cutting the positions of

> young people? I knew these people couldn't get a job outside. Fifteen per cent of the work force was eliminated and still no one in management had the guts to say 'I'll go with them'. I figured they could keep three young Canadians on my salary. So I decided to give my position away so that two or three Canadians will keep their positions. I felt once I am secure, once I no longer had any more responsibility to educate my kids, I can go".

Japanese' commitment and ability to make a new home in Canada does not imply of course that they do not miss Japan. When I asked Mr. Tesshi what he misses the most, his reply was:

> "You see, for a long time I didn't get homesick, because I was so busy taking care of myself and my family. Now, after I have been living here for a long time, now that I have finished taking care of my children, now I have a little more time to think about that".
>
> I do have, at times a very strange shock of homesickness. It has to do with Japanese scenery and especially Japanese seasons. About this time of year (spring) the air is moist and you can see Cherry blossoms and grass and flowers. This is the time where everything is devised. Around springtime images of my relationships with people, with my town, with everything in Japan come back...
>
> I feel that once I was a very close member of that team, or that group. I miss belonging to that group. Surely, I have my own team to take care of now and I have been involved in many communities since I have been living here- this group and that group and I have my own hobby group...but when I feel homesick, it is because I know that I had that group over there. I was a member. And that group, over there, has a very different perception of what a group is. Here it is group by choice, group by purpose. Over there it is a group almost by birth. It was not a group by choice, it was a group I was born into, sort of a big mother group you might say.
>
> Q: Are you talking about the Japanese nation?
>
> A: No. Not really. I am talking about many small groups to which I belong not by choice. It is the feeling of belonging... natural belonging. Here, I approach the process of group building rationally. With a bit of a Japanese nuance, but basically rationally. And in my rational life I think it is all right, because I liked it. I liked it. I came here and I liked it, so I live here. But on my emotional level I am missing this feeling of belonging, being a member of a group without trying. Here I am trying. I make up a group. I take twelve people, I coordinate policies with other groups and do all kinds of things. It is a conscious effort, and that's O.K. But sometimes I miss that feeling of belonging...of...I don't have to try. I am part of them and they are part of me".

He then related the following story:

"Two years ago I went back to Japan on a business occasion. Upon arriving, I phoned my primary school class mate, who owns a grocery shop. I said, 'I am here in Japan', and he said 'oh, are you free tomorrow at six o'clock?', I said 'sure', and he said 'I shall call a reunion, a class reunion'.
Twenty five people showed up, including two teachers. I haven't seen some of these people for thirty years. Some of them had to arrive, on a twenty four hour notice from out of Tokyo. Usually they have to take the last train out of Tokyo, leaving at midnight. Some of them, however, stayed with me until 2 o'clock in the morning. Two people that owned cars drove the rest home. The last one was dropped off at 7 o'clock in the morning.
These are classmates I didn't see, as I said, for three decades. I never wrote to them or had any other form of communication with them. In fact, I didn't even like some of them, and I am sure some of them didn't particularly like me. But just because I was once a part of that group, a part of the class-the class of 45' or so, in primary school, for six years- they felt they had to make the effort. And when it was morning we felt it was just like the old days- thirty years meant nothing.
That is a group. A group not by choice but by being born into it. I don't have that kind of a group here. And it's not just my classmates from primary school- I might have developed other groups like that. Sure, I have colleagues here, but can you really compare?

Q: Were you surprised at the turnout?

A: I was surprised by the number of people that showed up, but not overly surprised, because I would have done the same thing had I lived in Japan and my friend came from Canada... It's amazing, isn't it. That is Japanese group and that is Japanese culture. It's still there. It's basic. And that is what I miss".

CLUSTER #3- MEDIUM COMMITMENT, LOW INDIVIDUALISM

Cluster #3 is comprised of 6 participants. All members of this group are mothers, both in the "ideal type"and literal sense. Four are Japanese, one Israeli and one Canadian.

CHARACTERISTICS

> "Home is a place where I nurture my children, and it is always our home. I always tried to make it a home for my children and to make it a place where it would be nice to live. And so wherever I would go I would make it my home. If I had one room it would be my home, because I would have things there that will appeal to my senses, and I would cook, you know, I always cooked from scratch. And if possible I would have a garden, I would do things that make it a home...I mean I couldn't live in a room one night without hanging pictures on the wall or cooking. If we moved to a new house, I was cooking that same day.
> I have things in my living room that I have for years, and I would add things, but some things remain- like an African hanging that my uncle gave me years ago- and I always have that because it is the connection to my family. All those things- pictures of my grandfather and my grandmother- things that are important to me. Material things...like my books are important to me and my music is important to me...various things that make a place my home. It's my stamp, it's my connection, it's who I am.
>
> Q: Do you need to do anything in particular?
>
> A: No, I just need to cook. I just need to make something whole. Food is really important (also for the kids), because it is nurturing, and that would be one way that I would make home. As opposed to my mother who was a good cook, but never bothered with regular meals, I am a good cook, and it is important for me to give my kids the regularity. So cooking and having my stuff on the walls, and having my own space, and a space for my children, to express themselves. The underlying thing is that we are a family unit" (#18).

"The periphery of the female existence is more closely connected with its center than holds true for the man" writes Georg Simmel (1984:23) "Her conduct is more homogeneous than the man's and more intimately linked with her character..".For Simmel, making a home is the supreme cultural achievement of women.

Except for participant #18 who was born in Canada, none of the participants (except one) indicated they became 'Canadian'. They were able, however, to successfully shift their center and call Canada home. In the case of the Israeli woman (#10) it was after a long fight. In order to call Canada home she had to surrender (and let go), an extremely non- Israeli attribute.

> "I couldn't fight this place any more. I had to start living- for the kids. So I decided to try and make the best use out of this place".
> "See, I have a problem. My kids come first and then me and my husband.
> "For the longest time I used to ask myself "what the hell am I doing in this place? I hated it. I still don't like it that much. But my daughter is happy. And if my daughter is happy- I am happy. All I want now is to be close to my children.
> "Listen, you make mistakes in life. I should never have left. For 12-13 years I regretted it, but not any more, because the kids are happy".

This Israeli woman has reached a point where she admits she is confused. The answers are not clear anymore. The once very defined lines blur. She can entertain and tolerate the thought of calling Canada home, can admit her center might have shifted - because of her motherhood. In other words, she is able to do so in spite of her Israeliness, in spite of the legacy of a continuous war of attrition against the new place. Her children are her center, and she was able to accept that after a long fight. After our conversation this woman told me: "your wife is more important to you than Israel".

Such a sentence is typically Israeli- the notion, the contemplation that family and living in a country require, or deserve the same level of loyalty. I wonder where else those two dimensions would be placed on the same platform as if belonging in the same frame of reference as entities deserving the same treatment. No Japanese for example will utter such a comparison. It has already been indicated that for the Japanese the boundaries are much better defined and loyalties are clear. For them there is home, there is home country, there is identity and there is an ability to avoid the mish mash.

The theme of 'opening' or 'surrendering' to the new place as well as the consequences of resistance are echoed in the following account. The participant is not an emigrant from another country- she is an immigrant from another province (#18). Said Rose who had been living in Alberta for 24 years, but still yearns for Vancouver:

> "It's like never quite feeling a hundred percent two feet on the ground, celebrating the fact I am living in Edmonton, Alberta. Not embracing it, not grabbing it, or living it fully. I do have it sometimes, but it is not how I live usually when I am tuned to the setting. When I am in communion with the environment I feel grounded in a different way, like, my feet touch the ground, and I am part of that ground. Here, my feet touch the ground but I am still trying to make friends with it (the ground), or something..."
> After a pause she added:
> "Not really, I am not making friends with it... because I am not willing to accommodate. I am getting better at it though, I am trying to embrace what it means to live here, with an open heart. It happened to me more since I started walking along the river to work- I started to feel more attuned and more connected. The times I feel more connected would be in nature, or with friends...but it still feels different...I mean if I could take the people and move to the coast I would be really happy..."

Although none of them chose to leave Japan (they all followed their husbands), Japanese Mothers put up the least resistance to the new place or to their predicament as immigrants. They express very low levels of conflict and dilemma regarding identity, grounding, centering or calling Edmonton home. They do not cease to be Japanese- but as mentioned Japaneseness is the way one acts. It is not totally related to place of residence or equated with national identity. "

> I always hesitate to ask personal questions, I can't express my likes and dislikes explicitly. What the other person thinks always comes first. For example, (and this is different even in comparison to my husband), if we go to a party and the hostess would ask what I would like, I would say 'what you would like to offer I can take'. That is the way of a typical Japanese" (#15).

EXCERPT FROM THE INTERVIEW WITH MRS. TESSHI (#16)

Q: When you left Japan, did you think you might go back some day?

A: I didn't think too much. And it wasn't a difficult decision to make. Since we decided to get married, it was the natural thing for me to come to Canada and join him. I didn't think that much about going back to Japan or staying in Canada.

"If there was a party I had to go with my husband. (At that time) I had a small child and I rather wanted to stay with him, with my child, by not going to the party with my husband. Sometime I had to hire a baby sitter so I can go out, so I can do it the Canadian way, because I had to do that, because I am in Canada. But it was very difficult for me to do that, leaving the child behind with a baby sitter".

Q: Did you ever feel sad you were not going back to Japan?

A: I don't think so.

Q: This might sound weird, but how do you explain that?

**A: Well, maybe I had a home in Canada at that time...
I don't know, I really don't know...If you ask me, are you missing Japan, I think I will say, 'Yes, I am missing Japan', but I can still live here.
"AfterI came to Canada and married, my home was between me and my husband. Home for me is more mental relationships, where you have a family and a family tie, so you can carry your feeling of home with your family member from one place to another place. Now, after I have been living in the same house for quite a while, that physical house is tied very closely with my feelings of home. But even if you are living in a temporary physical structure you can establish your own home which is more mental or more personal.**

EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEW WITH MRS. YOSHIFUMI(#15)

"The issue whether I go back to Japan is dependent upon my husband and my children. If my son goes to the States, we might follow him there (the son is 26 years old). It is very important where the children are. Especially the first son".

Q: What do you miss the most about Japan?

A: I miss being a full member of the society. I don't feel fully and completely immersed in Canadian culture. I still don't feel like a member of Canadian society. For example- I don't vote, and it makes me different.

Q: Does it make you sad?

A: No, no, no, it doesn't make me sad. There is no emotional content, it just makes me a bit different. The only thing that makes me a bit sad is that my parents miss us a lot. That makes me sad.

One Japanese mother, Mrs. Hideki (#14) said she became a 'Canadian'. The example she provides (the burial of her father) characteristically equates Japaneseness with action- the way things are done. Mrs. Hideki, whose perception of home is also slightly different from the other Japanese women remains, however, a 'typical Japanese mother'.

> "The children were the most important thing" she said- "how they will grow up and what kind of education they will receive. My husband and I had discussions about the inhumanity of the Japanese educational system and I didn't want my children to become madly competitive. That was the best reason to stay here".
>
> Q: Are you a Japanese Canadian?
> A: Yes, I think so. I am living in Canada right now, I am working in Canada and most probably I will stay in Canada, so in those ways I am a Canadian.
> Hmmm...actually I try to be a Canadian, (laughing). My philosophy is- wherever you live, you have to give to the community. So if you don't have the right to vote, or if you don't have citizenship then you are not fulfilling your duties. To me it is important to contribute to the community and this is why I picked up a Canadian citizenship.
>
> Q: When you say 'I try', I hear 'But I am not so successful'...
>
> A: That's right, that's right. I think that opposite to my sons' situation (they were born in Canada) I try to be the same as Canadians, but somewhere my thinking is really different. Like, until someone asks I don't volunteer. I am Japanese.
>
> Q: So if I asked you where your true home is now, what would you say?
>
> A: I have talked about it a lot with my husband, and we said maybe after all these years Canada has become our home...
>
> Q: What does that mean?
>
> A: It means that we are going to settle down after thirty years. That we are here permanently. For the longest time we felt we were living in a foreign country, that we might go home some day... (bursts out laughing)- it doesn't make sense, does it... although we picked up Canadian citizenship and everything. But now I feel at home in Canada. I feel relieved coming back from long trips to Japan.
> "It's very funny. Sometime I say 'I'm going to Japan', but that happened only after all my kids got married. (Previously) I used to say 'going home'- to Japan. And when I was in Japan I used to say 'going home' to Canada. Both places were home for long time. I picked up Canadian citizenship in 1970 and all my immediate family, all my children and family are here. But still I was saying going home to Japan. Somewhere deep inside

me…something changed a little bit I suppose.

Q: Why did you say 'I am going home to Japan'?

A: I don't know. Maybe because my parents are there.

Q: What is home about Japan and what is home about Canada?

A: I don't travel with all the children now, of course, since they are married. I used to take them all with me. Nowadays I go alone.

Q: So when you took your children with you, you said 'I am going home to Japan…'

A: Yea

Q: And when you don't take your kids with you say…

A: I am going to Japan…

Q: I am not so sure I understand that

A: I am not so sure either. In Japanese Kaeru means to return home, so I used to say I am going home to Japan, instead of(just saying) go (to Japan), which is Ikku. But nowadays it's mixed up. Only recently I realized I am using both terms, going and going home. I don't know what changed in me, I don't know. The reason might be that my children grew up and settled down here.

"Anotherthing is the Olympics. Once we took the children home (to Japan) and we were watching the volleyball game between Canada and Japan. We noticed the children were cheering for Canada, and my husband and I were cheering for Japan. This took me by total surprise. I thought 'wow,we have been living in Canada for so long, so I should be cheering for Canada… but we were always cheering for Japan. My husband and I discussed it afterwards. We were laughing. We said to each other "wow, we are Canadians now, we can't live in Japan".

Q: What did you think when your children were cheering for Canada?

A: I thought, 'these children are Japanese, but they are not Japanese, they are Canadians. Of course we tried to teach them Japanese and so on, but I knew they were more Canadian then Japanese.

Q: Did it make you feel sad?

A: No, it didn't make me feel sad, because we chose to live here. Well, in a sense I was sad…I don't know…not sad in the sense that I wanted to change them into Japanese again, not that kind of sad, but…well…we chose to live in Canada, so wow, they became Canadians…

Q: What was the sadness part about?

A: Sadness, maybe, 'oh, I am Japanese and they are Canadians' type of thing… you know, probably, I didn't analyze then, but sadness probably means that…

Q: That they are different from you?

A: Yes

Q: Can you recall an instance when you realized that Canada is your home?

A: Yes. My father is preparing himself to die and he consulted with us about the funeral arrangements and so on. There is a certain protocol in Japan regarding funeral service- You have to call this person and that person, and they give money, and you have to send them a gift according to their donation- a very elaborate and detailed protocol. For me this is stupid and I decided I was not going to do that. In Canada we don't do all those silly things, you know Japanese things. In Canada you give money to charity, or send an acknowledgement and that is it.
My father was talking about this protocol, and I thought: 'I can't do it, I am a Canadian, I don't know how to do these things'. Then I realized I am a Canadian. If I was Japanese, I would have said 'Yes of course I will do it for you'.

Q: What was the biggest sacrifice you had to make when you came to Canada?

A: My parents are sad, because I have changed too much…

Q: The biggest sacrifice you had to make is the fact that your parents felt that you changed too much? (This woman is almost 65 years old)

A: Ahmmm…That I became a Canadian.

Q: Did you ever think about what it would do for you to live in Canada?

A: That was never the issue. I never thought about that. I suppose I am a typical Japanese mother.

Like Mrs. Barzel, the Israeli who lives in New York (Bamahane,1988), Mrs. Hideki had, for a long time, two homes. Like Mrs. Barzel her loyalties are clear. But unlike Mrs. Barzel, pain is almost absent from her account. And if there is pain, it is because of her parents, not because something she had to give up -food, or friends. In general, there is much less conflict, much more acceptance around the issue of home and belonging.

GENERALIZATIONS: COMPARISON OF ISRAELIS AND JAPANESE

I shall now compare the clusters and analyse the findings in terms of identity processes.

First, I shall introduce the concepts of assimilation and accommodation.

According to Breakwell (1983, 1986) Assimilation refers to the absorption of new components into the identity structure; Accommodation refers to the adjustment which occurs in the existing structure so as to find a place into which to fit the new elements. Accommodation entails the rearrangement of salience and centrality hierarchies in the structure of identity.

The two processes do not operate independently of each other. They interact and act simultaneously to change the content and value dimensions of identity. The process of evaluation (the allocation of meaning and value to identity content both new and old) will influence what is assimilated and the form of accommodation.

Breakwell (1983,1986) continues to argue that there are two types of threat to identity:

The first is threat to the content of the personal or social identity. "In content terms, identity is comprised of the labels one would use to describe oneself" (1986:14)

The other type of threat is to the evaluation of the personal or social identity.

"The potency of the threats" writes Breakwell (1986:10) "Seems to rest upon the importance which people place upon being consistent and upon being able to maintain self-esteem".

Threats to self-esteem and consistency operate on at least three levels:

1. Attacking the individual- the individual is not what she or he thinks she or he is.

2. Attacking the individual's group membership- the individual is told that they are not or should not be a member of a group whose membership they prize.
3. Attacking the individual's group- these types of attack berate and decry the group to which the individual belongs. Such denigration of the group acts as a threat to identity in so far as identity is derived from group memberships.

The extent and speed of identity modifications following social change are likely to depend upon:

1. The degree of personal relevance of the social change.
2. The immediacy of involvement in the social change.
3. How much revision of identity content and value is demanded.
4. How negative the change required is deemed to be.

A threat to identity occurs when the processes of identity- (assimilation-accommodation and evaluation) are for some reason unable to comply with the principles of continuity, of distinctiveness or self esteem which normally guide their operation. Such a change is predicted to threaten the integrity of identity, will be perceived as negative, and will be sought only after all alternatives have been rejected as unworkable. It therefore occurs only after delay, and when accepted is likely to be minimized. Any thought or action which succeeds in eliminating or ameliorating threat can be considered a coping strategy, whether it is consciously recognized as intentional or not (1986:79).

For the Israelis in cluster #1 home equals identity equals national identity, equals Israel. The threat to identity, both in content terms ("The labels one would use to describe oneself") and in terms of consistency and group belonging is clear (see also Goffman:1963). Participants in cluster #1 are in a chronic state of incompatibility.

Breakwell outlines various modes, strategies, or responses to threatened identities. The strategies are:

1. Reconstrual- of threat or the identity. Devaluing or invalidating the threat.

2. a) Mobility- the individual moves away to evade the threat.

   b) Change- Seeking to move the threat.

3. Inertia- this is really an anti-response. It consists of doing nothing. Neither construing nor taking action. The person understands that the attack is being made but simply refrains from response. Breakwell claims that people can live with this chronic threat for years without responding. "The forces which preserve a consistency of identity prevent material or psychological change" she writes (1986:36).

> "So the person is caught as if suspended in a spider's web: trapped in a single system of construal; immobilized; and incapable of generating social change...Such people often compartmentalize their experiences in such a way as to minimize the experience of threats. The precise extent of the disparity between their self-concept and the threatening information about their self-concept is never perceived because the direct comparison is never made. Compartmentalization of this sort is of course hardly adaptive.

Breakwell outlines both Deflection and Acceptance strategies for coping with threatened identities. As was demonstrated, participants in cluster #1 use both types of strategies.

Deflection Strategies include: Denial ("I am not a Yored, I am an still an Israeli because I love Israel"), Unreal selves ("I am myself only in Israel", "My life, my real life are in Israel") and Fantasy ("If I could just wake up one morning and move everything to Israel\

If I could just move all my friends and family to Edmonton\ "One day I am just going to get up and leave, just like that, leave everything behind").

From the Acceptance Strategies, Compartmentalism seems to be the most prevalent among participants in cluster #1- "Compartmentalism" writes Breakwell (1986:176) "(is) drawing a strict boundary around the dissatisfying addition to the identity structure. It is not permitted to contaminate the rest of the identity. In so far as this is feasible assimilation occurs without accommodation.

Earlier, I quoted Erikson on Identity. "Identity",he writes (1956:74) "(Is) a preconscious sense of psychological well-being; a feeling of being at home in one's body, of knowing where one is going, and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count".

Here, in fact, Erikson equals identity with home. Put differently, the various components, or spheres of identity equal the various aspects of home. Strong identity equals, in a sense, an ideal home. The components are: Body, Relationships (significant others), and Orientation in Time (which is provided, to an extent by culture as was demonstrated by the work of Lifton, Becker, Kearl and Rinaldi). The term Centering encompasses it all.

1. The Body.

It was noted (see my personal account in the methodology section) that in terms of physical environment and bodily sensations Canada and Israel are extremely different.

2. Inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count.

In the Israeli case, 'those who count' include, (as in the case of other immigrants), family and friends who might exhibit various degrees of acceptance to the act of leaving. The degrees might vary from silence, Yerida becoming the unspoken subject, to open emotional blackmail of those who leave.

But in addition to family and long time friends Ideology functions as a significant or generalized other. As a result of leaving, Israelis (those portrayed in cluster #1) fail to gain the recognition and love of someone else who 'counts': themselves. In some cases every other 'significant other' might have already accepted their departure and forgiven them, but the 'generalized other'- who has been internalized as the mythological Sabra perhaps, refuses to accept and forgive. Earlier, I argued that a true home is where one is able to give and receive love. Participants in cluster #1 do not fully recognize, accept and love themselves outside Israel.

3. Knowing where one is going. Participants in cluster #1 belong to two groups: a. Those who are going back, and b. Those who don't really know where they are going. Not a single Israeli indicated s\he is prepared to peacefully accept staying in Canada for the rest of his or her life. When one lives in a moratorium there is slim chance one will accept Canada as home.

A prerequisite for calling a place a home- a cohesive life story and a sense of continuity, which encompasses a view of the future- are missing. The ultimate manifestation of continuity is, of course, symbolic immortality. For participants in cluster #1, whose identities are territorialized, only the original nation- state- Israel- can satisfy this need.

Japanese immigrants, whose identities are not territorialized and for whom the concepts of Home and National Identity do not clash, were able to add and incorporate another concept of home into their configuration without worrying too much about loyalties. The addition of an element does not have to come at the expense of some other valuable component. Presenting themselves as Japanese-Canadians does not present an identity threat for these immigrants. Benedict already noted (1946) that "The Japanese consciousness is situational". The validity of this statement is demonstrated here again.

The Japanese (and the "Mothers"),seem to have multiple centers, or a movable center, or an alternative center. They are able to compensate for their removal from an ethnocentric society by devoting their energies to their families. Their loyalties are clear. If there is confusion, it revolves around the future. The ie encompass many generations. The past (ancestors and at times living parents) is in Japan. The present (children) is in Canada. Where will the future be? The question, however, is not whether to sacrifice self, but to whom.

THE MODEL

The predicament of people in cluster # 1 is captured by Lifton's axes presented in Graph #1.

SEPARATION and PHYSICAL MOVEMENT from the powerful culture and nation-state, from the center, does not result in DISINTEGRATION (although the threat is always present), but, since available alternatives to 'replenish' the loss are scarce, there is a staunch resistance to INTEGRATE new components into self and identity, because most of those components are perceived as NON-SELF. The result is PARTIAL CENTERING, NON- GROUNDING, DISCONNECTION AND, AT TIMES, PSYCHOLOGICAL STASIS OR STAGNATION. There is an inability or unwillingness to change (see Lifton's Protean Man: 1968). The common excuse Israelis provide for living outside Israeli is "Nitka'noo"- we were stuck. They mean physically, but as demonstrated the 'stuckiness' might invade other quarters of their lives. As already noted: THEIR CENTER got stuck in Israel. The center is mobile exactly to the extent that the state is mobile.

It seems that for Israelis, migration is an object of bereavement [6]. What is bereaved, feared and resisted is the loss of a personal identity which is grounded and symbolized by different objects, its referential points. Estrangement from these objects may induce the individual's fears of being estranged from himself.

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[6] Immigration can be also viewed as a work of mourning. Uprootment and its psychological consequences are interpreted as a process of mourning and elaboration of loss (Dissman, 1983; Grupo De Investigadores Latinoamericanos, 1980; Schneller, 1980; Fried,1971). As in the process of mourning studied by Freud ('narcissism',1915) and Klein ('mourning work',1977), feelings of pain and guilt are reported. Guilt could be related to the loved ones left behind and to the original country itself, and it is particularly strong when it is related to fellow companions who are in prison or have disappeared (Fantino,1980). The grieving process of immigrants and refugees can start just after arrival or even before leaving the old country. It can also be denied and experienced only years later as a phenomenon of delayed grief.

As noted by several authors (Grupo De Investigadores Latinoamericanos,1980; Kai Erikson,1976; Fantino,1980; Garrison,1985) in the cases of refugees and survivors, one finds a rupture in psychological representations of time and space and the notion of historical continuity is broken.

In terms of Lifton's axes the Japanese demonstrate much less conflict, dilemma and loss around issues of immigration, home and identity. Although they experience SEPARATION AND DISCONNECTION from the nation-state and from family, they are able to compensate for the losses because their families and other face to face groups offer a strong source of loyalty, CONNECTION AND INTEGRATION. This enables them to better GROUND AND CENTER themselves, which implies a satisfactory integration of past and future AND THE POTENTIAL TO FULLY LIVE IN THE PRESENT.

The findings of this study relate and help to illuminate two other studies: The first is Stryker's (1982) concept of identity commitment, the other Turner's (1981) research of the True Self.

1. In the tradition of structural symbolic interactionism, the structure of self -concept is viewed as a hierarchial organization of an individual's role-identities (McCalls & Simmons 1978). Stryker (1982) developed the idea of self concept as a salience hierarchy of identities most fully through the concept of commitment. He proposes that "one is committed to an identity to the degree that one is enmeshed in social relationships dependent on that identity" (1982:177). In this view of self structure, the greater the commitment to an identity, the more consequential it is for the individual's conduct. Note that Stryker's conception of commitment emphasizes the relational aspect of role identities: the nature and extensiveness of the "role set" (Merton, 1957) or "identity set" (i.e. the network of identities and role relationships a given identity implies) affect the degree of commitment to the identity).

It is clear that while Stryker's arguments might be valid regarding Japanese immigrants and mothers, (their role set, or identity set are extensive when it comes to their families, and being Japanese is manifested in action), his analysis fails to capture the Israeli's predicament. For there are no role sets or identity sets which are involved or associated with being an Israeli outside Israel. One does not have to, and usually indeed does not do anything about it. One mainly feels an Israeli. This is close to what Shokeid (1986) termed Affective Ethnicity.

2. Turner and Schutte (1981) propose that the self conception (which is tied to a sense

of authenticity and inauthenticity) is meaningfully described only when the description indicates linkages to settings i.e., the environment within which the experience occurred. Demo also notes (1992) that "Environmental stability plays an important role in self concept stability". It seems that for Israelis (from cluster #1) the setting plays a more decisive and significant role in relation to the self concept. In other words: Israeli's selves (and identities) are highly localized, hopelessly territorialized.

Ironically, the opposite also holds true: no matter how long they had been living outside Israel they will always think and present themselves as Israelis. They don't exactly know what it means in the present, so they cling to the notion of Israel as home in terms of ultimate return.

THE CONCEPT OF PARTIAL HOMES

Most of the participants in this study settle for what I call PARTIAL HOMES, a shrunken version of the ideal home. In this partial home warmth and belonging exist, but Self is no longer centered in the midst of a multiplicity of concentric circles, with 'anchors' at each level. Self is centered in the midst of one or two circles- usually family and work. Self is validated and reaffirmed through daily routine, but (chiefly for Israelis) is often accompanied by a nagging sense of partial alienation.

The main difference between Israelis and Japanese is their perception and interpretation of partial homes. In other words, the salience of not living at home and the meanings they attribute to not living at home. In fact, the concept of Partial Home, might apply (in this study) only to Israelis. Participants from neither group indicated they think of themselves as Canadians, but for Israelis this fact was always salient. Japanese, in contrast, appear to live better with partial solutions and some ambiguity. They did not complain and never emphasized their disconnection or loss, as did their Israeli counterparts. For Israelis (from cluster #1) no other place than Israel can be an ideal home and so all the other places are categorically not home. Japanese do not look for ideals. The small home is still home.

It seems that for Israelis there is a kind of a sieve through which lived experience is filtered. The name of the filter is belonging to culture and nation manifested in identification with transcendent symbols- the outer circle in chart #2. If the lived experience cannot filter, or pass through the sieve, it is considered as 'not real life' (although the experience might not be always negative). In other words, the interpretation of experience and subsequently the meaning Israelis attach to their experience is heavily influenced by this 'belonging' filter. And because Israelis tend to equate belonging in ultimate terms (nation, state, home) they often feel uneasy. For Israelis, fragmented homes mean fragmented selves. Shrinking of home means inactivation of important aspects of self and a feeling of stasis.

Japanese seem to filter their experience differently or not to filter it at all. 'Belonging' to a nation is certainly not a top priority where 'home' is concerned.

TWO EXAMPLES OF PARTIAL HOMES

Nimrod was born in a Kibbutz. He is a Ben Meshek, meaning literally 'a son of the Kibbutz'. The implication is that he supposedly belongs (and is claimed by) the collective, the large entity, the extended family, not by his biological parents.

Although he left the Kibbutz more than two decades ago, and although he was rejected in his various attempts to go back, Nimrod insists that the Kibbutz is his home "and no one, not even the Kibbutz can take it away. It is not a legal thing".

Nimrod vividly recalls the "enormous sense of happiness" which he used to feel upon entering the Kibbutz's gates after being away. He conveys the feeling that in his childhood he was totally centered in a home which was the Kibbutz, the whole Kibbutz, an entity encompassing the physical premises and the members.

This feeling has considerably diminished:

"The Kibbutz is still my home" he said "but I don't feel comfortable there. The circles I feel connected to shrank with time. I feel dissociated and disconnected. I am no longer recognized ...Idon't feel the Kibbutz anymore... I am not a part of it anymore..."

"When I go back I am very reserved" he continued. "I stay in my quarters, I don't go to the Hadar Ochel (the communal dining room), I eat at home (with his immediate family). I hide. I Hide in my own home. I make myself scarce. I keep a low profile.

Q: You sound like a refugee
A: Yes, I am refugee in my own home.

Nimrod's account illustrates a shrinking process which results in a partial home. In his childhood, the entire Kibbutz used to be home. He had active anchors on many levels, physical as well as interpersonal. The physical anchors are still there, but they do not belong to the present anymore. They are not supported by a live, daily experience. They are only memories. Nimrod still feels strong attachment to the physical setting and especially to the graveyard where his family and friends are buried, but his perception of the whole Kibbutz as home is tainted by the members' attitude- they view him as 'traitor' and 'exploiter'. His active anchors are now contained in and limited to one level only- his immediate family. Nimrod is conscious of this process of shrinking and is very aware of the loss.

Two other participants who are more than aware of the shrinking process, who in fact partly self imposed it, are the Billings family who were forced to leave Israel because of their son's condition. They sound more like refugees than economic immigrants. Their story incorporates some of the themes discussed previously- Israeli culture, the creation and loss of home and what partial home means.

An adequate term to describe Dina's situation is deep grief. I met her a year after she had to leave Israel, and her sadness was so close to the surface that she started crying as soon as I asked the second question (which was, incidentally: "Why do you want to speak Hebrew?)".

Dina's predicament is captured by the following sentences: "I reside here, but in Israel I really, really lived. I don't know how to explain it, but the same things, the same activities mean much more in Israel. I love the Dina of Israel so much more than the Dina of Edmonton. Here, I just survive, and it feels extremely boring. It feels so dull".

She was born in Regina, married in Edmonton, and made 'aliya' with her husband (who was also born in Canada) and two children fifteen years ago. The family settled in a Kibbutz, where Ben became the local physician, while Dina started working in the Pardes (orchard). Her account is filled with 'tree metaphors'. It is interesting to note that the various sectors of the Kibbutz are called Anafim- branches, as if the Kibbutz is the trunk from which branches grow and to which they belong.

Although they never became Kibbutz members (they lived there as 'residents'), it is obvious from their account that the Kibbutz, and the state of Israel became their home. One of the main factors which contributed to the feeling of belonging and acceptance was Ben's decision and insistence, at the age of 38, to fulfill his military duties. Ben and Dina made their home in Israel. They created it there.

Their account enables the reader to isolate some crucial factors which contribute to a successful creation of home.

Most importantly, Dina and Ben were open to the possibility of creating home in a new place. Israel always held the possibility of becoming home for this couple. In other words- the 'whole',the framework (and by 'framework'I mean Jewishness) was there. What they needed was the 'small' home, which they found in the Kibbutz.

They never tried to deny a shift in center. They did not purposefully withhold or excommunicate themselves from the place. They gave the place a chance. The issue of dual loyalties was a non- issue. The couple quite willfully surrendered to the new culture and attempted to assimilate into it, in a process that bears strong resemblance to falling in love. In fact, these are the words Dina uses. "Israel bewitched me" she said. "I can't say exactly what it was, but I felt everything was mine...hearing Hebrew and Yiddish in the streets... I don't know...I felt I became one of the United Jewish Appeal trees. I remember how I used to pet the trees and the oranges...".When someone feels like a U.J.A.tree one feels rooted, grounded, focused, centered and committed. In addition, one feels a symbolic reunion with a center which already exists. If the Israeli pulse did not became Dina's pulse, at least she felt comfortable with it. She likes "to eat falafel, stand in line and even shout in the street". (It came as a surprise, for she describes herself as a 'classic JAP'). She invested herself in the place by working the land and making friends ("not my husbands' friends, my friends"). What 'made' it for her was the realization she was needed on the Kibbutz when the men were drafted in the 1982 war. She was left in charge of the Pardes. "I arrived in Israel when I was 29", she said, "I had kids of my own, but I was very much a kid myself. I was a doctor's wife. In Israel I gave something, I built something".

For Ben, making Israel his home was strongly related to serving in the army. At first Dina wanted to join him but was rejected. Later, when her daughter reached 18 and joined the army Ellen unsuccessfully asked to join her. "I wanted to pay my dues as well" she explained, "I felt I had to give more than other Israelis because I didn't grow up in Israel and was having such an easy time in Canada while people in the Kibbutz and in Israel were struggling and suffering for me. People accepted me, but I had to work harder- for myself".

Ben:

> "Before (I served in) the army I had the friends and I had the work and I was very popular. But I was not a part of the state. I did not contribute what everyone contributes. When they sat and chatted about the army I did not have anything to say. I did not understand what the whole thing was about. As long as I did not eat the same shit as everyone I didn't consider myself an Israeli".

As mentioned, Ben was drafted at the age of 38. After basic training he was sent as a physician to Lebanon:

> "Sometime I would wake up before dawn and ask myself 'what the hell am I doing here', but it never lasted long. I knew what I was doing there. In Lebanon, I felt I was in the center of everything, and afterwards I felt a part of everything (Israeli society). It was terrible for me (in Lebanon) like it was terrible for everyone. I suffered like the rest and I couldn't run away- exactly like everyone else. The army was a real turning point. I looked at it as part of my 'Israeli practicum'. In return for suffering I received belonging. I was accepted. In fact- I was accepted before, but I accepted myself now. It added another dimension to my belonging. There is nothing like that in Canada".

Although living in Canada frustrates her tremendously and although she would very much like to know "howlong this thing (living here) is going to go on and when it is going to end", it is clear to Dina that as long as her son's condition requires, she is going to stay here. Like the Japanese participants, she has abdicated the power to decide. Her husband, in contrast, emphasizes the economic advantages of living here. He works as a physician. She stays at home.

Both Dina and Ben emphasize the temporaneity of their stay here. Both have reservations about Canada, although both were born and raised here. He works as a physician, but feels alienated from himself and from his clients. She actively dissociates herself from her environment. "I can't imagine ever being satisfied in Canada", she said.

Dina arrested herself in a big house, where she is surrounded by a big garden and a swimming pool. She created what she calls "a self sufficient bubble", from which she does not have to step out. In her bubble she listens to Israeli music and manages subscriptions for an Israeli magazine named "Eretz"(land, country). Dina is a very well equipped refugee. She keeps Israel alive by memorizing various traffic routes. She is very proud when people around her comment on her non belonging. "I was at a restaurant and someone said 'you don't look like a Canadian. Your accent is not Canadian. I don't think you were born here'. I wanted to kiss this woman. It was a huge compliment for me. It felt great".

During our conversation, some Hebrew words skipped Dina's memory. It frustrated her immensely. Each time it happened she made a point of using the Hebrew word for "Shit" ("Hara")- as if demonstrating her Israeliness and compensating somehow for the loss by using the most "Israeli" expression.

Dina grew up 'Jewish', became an 'Israeli' and refuses to become 'Jewish' again:

> "I hate the people here, the Jews here. I don't want to connect to Canada too much. I am not a part of here and I don't want to become a part of them here. I am here, but my head and heart are there. Often, I sit with friends or neighbors and I am somewhere else. Here, it feels 'keiloo' ('as if', 'not real'). It is not that I can't enjoy it here, Aval ze lo ze (but this is not it)".

Ben and Dina are passing time. The boundaries of their centers have to be redrawn, and both of them live outside the 'big', meaningful center. Living out of home one feels that "Ze lo ze". Living at home means ze (This is it. It just feels right). In Canada, the family is a center, but it feels like an island of meaning and sacredness in a sea of profanity. In Israel the entire sea was meaningful, indeed sacred.

Ben, who also insisted on conducting the conversation in Hebrew said:

> "I feel more comfortable expressing myself in Hebrew when emotions are concerned" (his mother's tongue is of course English). "I wanted to know that someone really understands me. My relationships with people here are very shallow. I can't have a meaningful conversation here, partly because people here don't speak Hebrew".

"Although I was raised in Edmonton and lived here until I was more than 30 I feel in exile" Ben said. "I constantly tell my friends "I am not from here". I have a large family in Edmonton, all my schooling took place here and I have lots of memories. But these are not exactly my people. I don't have any complaints against Canada, but I simply don't feel a sense of belonging. In Israel I felt it very fast and very strong".
"I still know and recognize more things around here (in Edmonton). There were conversations that I did not understand there (in Israel) and of course I did not fully understand the media. Many things there felt strange and unfamiliar. But it never interfered with the sense of belonging. Here, nothing is unfamiliar to me. I grew up with everything, I understand everything. And still, here I feel a stranger. An outsider. I think it has to do with people. In Israel, I felt that even people I did not really know were mine. I felt we belong to the same group, we have something common in our origin. Here, people might be nice, or not nice, but these are people I don't feel any belonging or connection to. In the kibbutz there were people I liked very much and disliked very much, but they were all mine, and therefore the (medical) treatment was a bit more personal, a bit more concerned. Here, I often find myself thinking "whoare these people? what are these people? these people are not mine". So I do my work, but in a professional, cold way".

Compare to Yoav (#2), whose main source of self esteem (a research scientist) is currently unrelated to the place. Ron also derives his self esteem from his profession, but in his case, profession is intertwined with place.

Q: Did you feel your life in Israel was somehow more meaningful than here?

Ben: Without a doubt. No question about it. When we were living here, I always had this problem of justifying my existence. Every morning I used to ask myself if what I was doing was worth anything. I wouldn't call it depression, it was more self criticism- am I doing enough? is it satisfactory? should I do it? who am I helping? should I help someone else? is it enough for me?
Answering those questions and dealing with those issues became my daily routine. In Israel I don't remember I ever had to do it. Not once. Being there was enough. Just getting up in the morning was enough".

At the end of the conversation with Dina, I made an attempt to console her. I told her that with time she might forget. "I don't want to forget" she replied. "I want it to hurt. If the pain goes away we will never go back".

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Last night, on the way home, I began to sing some Chanuka songs, in the hope my daughter would join me. She attends the Jewish kindergarten and loves singing. She also knows it makes me very happy when she sings in Hebrew. "Abba" she inquired, "why are you so happy when I sing in Hebrew"? "Because English is not my real language, Hebrew is my real language" I replied.

My daughter then looked at me as if something had to be clarified: "but I am a Canadian"- (she was not asking, she was telling me) "and English is my real language". Enough said.

When it snows, I take notice. After eight years, I am still impressed. When it snows my daughter wants to go out and build a snowman. Phenomena that constitute near miracles for me, are taken for granted by her. When we sing the Chanuka songs, I insist on singing "Nes Gadol Haya Po" (a great miracle happened here) and she insist on correcting me "Nes Gadol Haya Sham" (a great miracle happened there).

One of the threads woven through this thesis is the assertion that Home is the meeting of Heaven and Earth. In the "little home" we find acceptance, comfort and orientation, and in the "big home" we find transcendence and symbolic immortality. In a way, the incidents I describe above embody this. I enjoy my little home, but my big home is somewhere else. And in my case there is a real, strong conflict between two modes of transcendence- the biological and the national. My proximate and ultimate concerns, if you like, do not co-exist peacefully. Using my own model (#2) to clarify my experience, it is clear that the outer cycle (culture and nationality) clashes with the inner cycles- it 'informs' them that this is not

Home. Non-belonging on a national level negates the possibility of experiencing or treating Canada as a perfect home, or just 'home' without reservation. This is the main thing I learned from my thesis and this is probably what I meant when I wrote that my heart is in two places. I also learned that in order for the outer cycle to be treated as home (at least for most Israelis), one has to be able to identify with the group (ethnic, religious or cultural) who has 'the legitimate title' to the land.

I also learned that although we think we own places, at times it is the other way around. Places, in fact, can possess us. Not that I didn't know and feel it before I started. Verbalizing it, however, cemented this understanding and added important layers to it- I know now what I am facing, I know the conflict is real, and at this stage probably not resolvable- unless I am able and willing to let go. The problem is that I am not enthusiastic about the prospect of becoming good at letting go. I suspect Israeliness and Buddhism are almost mutually exclusive. And, as yet, I haven't learned to frame my world without duality.

My study attempts to explore the phenomenon of home and anchor it in the lived experience of migrants. It is a close look at three interrelated, at times overused terms: Home, Identity and Belonging.

The findings indicate that the ability to create an adult home, after immigration, is related to the nature of the self (individualistic vs. self sacrificing, I-self vs. We-self) and the ability to commit to the new place. The findings also indicate that Israelis and Japanese tend to think of home differently and identify it in different terms. While Israelis think of home in ultimate terms of belonging and loyalty, Japanese are able to center themselves in the small home, the basis for their daily activities.

Not all Israelis who immigrate want to go back. Some of them feel 'shrinkage' when they return to Israel. Some, I am sure, are able to ground and center themselves here. On the other hand, not all Japanese want to contribute and are content with partial belonging. I believe, however, that many Israeli Yordim can identify and find themselves in the stories of Israelis who participated in this study. The stories will seem 'normal' or 'natural' to them. I hope this study has the same truth value for the Japanese participants.

The study ties into and uses concepts drawn from a vast sociological literature:

A. It provides a glimpse into the predicament and state of mind of the "Stranger", (Simmel,1950) the "Marginal Man" (Park,1950), and the "Sojourner"(Siu,1952). Both the marginal man and the sojourner are variations on Simmel's "Stranger". The sojourner, however, is unwilling to organize himself psychologically as a permanent resident in the country of his sojourn. The sojourner then is a stranger who spends many years of his lifetime in a foreign country without being assimilated by it.

Israelis are not sojourners, at least not in the classical sense (neither are the Japanese). They don't have a job which is supposed to be completed[7]. Israelis are, however, existential sojourners. They tell themselves stories of sojourn. Japanese don't tell themselves stories.

The most important difference between the Israelis and the Japanese is that while the latter try to assimilate, to become Canadians (not always successfully), Israelis remain strangers by choice. Their marginality is self imposed, at times even nourished, and is strongly related to their unique notion of home, identity and belonging. It may also be related to a unique blend of defensiveness, stubbornness and arrogance, sometimes seen as quintessentially "Israeli".

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[7] Another important difference is that neither Israelis nor Japanese form strong cultural associations or live in well defined areas of the city. There are no Israel Town nor Japan Town.

B. It explores the relationship between body and soul. "Demographers",writes Maines (1978:242) "...Count, measure and discuss bodies rather than identities... migration is thought of (chiefly) in terms of physical movement...".Maine argues that the social component of human migration can be effectively discussed in terms of identity. One of the possibilities he suggests is bodies who migrate and identities who don't. The present study is an explication of Maines' suggestions. I began an exploration of the issue of body, soul and identity by introducing the concepts of anchors and roots, and this is but a very modest beginning. The nature of the taken for granted world, and especially the relationship between religious teachings and interpretation of the lifeworld, needs further exploration[8].

C. It explores The nature of citizenship and belonging to a state. Doing Canadian things, (even having a Canadian passport), and being a Canadian seems to fall, for the majority of the participants in this study, under two very different categories. Immigrants can do Canadian things for years and still feel basically untouched in terms of fundamental identity processes. It was found that while certain parts of identity are negotiable (James, Cooley and Simmel have already told us that we have as many identities as we have group affiliations), other parts, namely national identity, are immune to change- at least for Israelis. These parts seem to be fixed, i.e.,non-processual, non-negotiable, almost imprinted.

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[8]. Another possibility Maines outlines is "Body doesn't migrate, identity migrates". This idea was explored briefly in the chapter "Leaving Home".

In other words, after a certain point feeling as a national is irreversible and actions are not directly related to feelings. Do these findings hold true only for people who come from strong nation states? I believe that further research, particularly in the area of developmental psychology, can further our understanding regarding the mechanism of acquiring national identity and the age in which it is 'fixed'.

In terms of citizenship, two attitudes were represented in this study. One viewed and experienced citizenship in terms of convenience- a practical, but immaterial, non-significant act which had no significant impact on identity ("I looked at myself from above and smirked", "I chose to swear on the New Testament, not the Bible", It didn't matter to me at all, nothing important happened"). This attitude can be characterized as "passport identity" (see Saram,1993)- a formal membership that qualifies one to benefit from certain privileges that can be bestowed by the state alone.

The other attitude is citizenship as the ultimate act of belonging and commitment. It is represented by the following Japanese participant, a woman who has been living in Canada for over twenty five years, (over a sociological generation):

> "The decision to take Canadian citizenship is very important. I do not feel integrated, at this point, in Canadian culture and society to take Canadian citizenship yet. Taking a new citizenship takes a lot of determination".

Citizenship for this woman implies responsibility- the first responsibility is to feel one belongs and is integrated. The other responsibility is to act, to contribute.

Morton (1993:50) argues that:

> "Citizenship is both a legal and an emotional concept. It is a means of categorizing individuals and of giving them an identity. Citizenship defines an individual's rights, responsibilities, and opportunities; it also implies loyalty and commitment to a national entity".

The findings of this study indicate that the second part of the above statement, the part which deals with emotions, may need modification.

The findings, however, illuminate Taylor's statement that "in Canada... we have these very different kinds of societies where the idea of what it is to belong is very different".

Citizenship (at least for most immigrants who are not refugees) is a process. At the end of the process, one is accepted into someone else's home[9]. The question is- can this home truly become the immigrants' home?.

The answer is, of course, "it all depends". If home means the basis for daily activities, if home means feeling comfortable in a place, having a sense of orientation and control, making the physical lifeworld familiar and convenient, if home means the little home- the answer is yes.

But if home means the BIG HOME, if home means more than comfort, more than being able to function, being acculturated, or fulfilling steps of assimilation and integration; if home means a deep sense of belonging on a level which is not accessible to words but is very real, both to the environment and to Canadian symbols which imply continuity, transcendence and immortality of the Canadian nation- and I believe this is what becoming a Canadian really means- the answer is much more complicated- not just for the Israelis- for the Japanese as well. Canada might provide the little home, but the big home is somewhere else. Participants from both groups did not manage to make the 'otherness' theirs. It was indicated that the main difference between the groups lies in the different responses of the participants to this inability[10].

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[9] The Canadian Justice minister announced lately that he will not allow defence on 'cultural grounds'(Globe and Mail,1994).

Here, I would like to elaborate on the issue of Multiculturalism, a significant pillar of Canadian identity[11]. As Alladin (1993) notes the concept of multiculturalism is based on the assumption that political and ethnic differences can be reconciled through a policy which promotes the notion of one nation\many people\many cultures. In multicultural frameworks, the impetus is toward the normalization, or better yet the institutionalization of distinctiveness (Saram,1993).

I think the incongruence between the actual amount spent on Multicultural projects (25 million dollars) and the enormous debate around the issue can be accounted for if one examines the issue through the prism of home. The issue is "Does Canada succeed in elevating itself to the status of home for it's immigrants. Proponents of the Multicultural policy argue that Canada can be home in spite of (or because of?) all the promoted differences. Those who object to the policy contend that promoting differences negates the possibility of immigrants treating Canada as home.

Judging from my own experience, I have to support the second view. When I watch

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[10]. The fact people don't have a sense of belonging is not a valid predictor of how they will conduct their daily lives, or about their contribution to society. Israelis, for example contribute, they just feel they live in a mistake.

[11] "Multiculturalism fosters... a Canadian identity in which people and groups of all cultures are accepted. Multiculturalism promotes individual and group relations in which ethnic, racial religious and linguistic similarities and differences are valued and respected.

The philosophy of multiculturalism is a belief in a harmonious and enriched way of life which arises when Canadians of diverse cultures come to know and understand each other. It is a philosophy of unity.

It challenges Canadians to see our linguistic and cultural diversities as an integral part of our Canadian identity and as positive forces which strengthen our Canadian society in many different ways. (From a leaflet distributed by "The Edmonton Multicultural Society: Unity in Diversity,1994).

Ukrainian (or Scottish, or Filipino) dancing I certainly feel a lot of respect, but I feel it emphasize the otherness. This is not mine, will never be mine, and I can't understand how anyone can think that it is mine because we happen to live at the same place. In my mind it emphasizes the fact they we are merely people who live in Canada, not Canadians (see also Bissoondath,1994).

This problem is accentuated when I watch Native dancing. Again, there is respect for their tradition, and a strong additional feeling that the land belongs to them. It is truly their home- I feel like a guest in their home. But do they feel at home in their home?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A. It was noted that 'ba'it', the Hebrew word for Home is a powerful anchor and is 'charged' with ample semantic energy. It was also noted that in the Jpanese language, different terms are used to indicate different aspects and facets of the relationship between person and place- for example: Furu sato, Uchi, Ie, Kaeru (going home) etc. The various words, terms and meanings of Home in different languages is a fascinating topic for further study.

B. It was noted that sleep, rest, immobility and stasis are frequently associated with home, but the themes of RETURNING HOME, GROWING OLD AND DYING need further elaboration.

"Home is where you go when you run out of places" writes Clifford Odets (in "Clash by Night")[12]. There is ample anecdotal evidence that people want to return home to die, or consider the burial place of their ancestors as their 'true home'(See Ignatieff,1993)[13].

Furthermore, for many people a burial place implies ultimate respect and therefore can tell us something important about the individual's sense of priority and belonging. A burial

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[12] . "Falling down" (Warner Bros.1993) is a film about a journey toward home and death. The protagonist abandons his car in the middle of a busy Los Angeles highway and embarks on a journey across the city. He feels that the city of Los Angeles, and the United states as a whole ceased to be his home, since they were taken away by immigrants, whom he does not understand. He does not feel at home in America anymore. So he wants to return to a personal haven, find consolation in his small home, with his estranged wife and small daughter. At the end of the film it is evident that this small home is not available to him any more either. He lost this little home as well. The protagonist is shot by the police close to his estranged wife's residence, a house which used to be his home.

[13] . Personal communication with Dr. Michael Handman the Director of Psychology department in the Cross Cancer Institute.

place might be a conclusion of life or a reaction or compensation for life. Does the person want to be buried where the children can visit? where the ancestors are? by the spouse? Again, the decision is individual but I believe that cultural influences exist.[14]

C. The inter- relationships between the various dimensions in model #2 are going to be expressed and explored in various ways over the next while, both in Canada and around the globe. The following developments will allow for and aid a refinement of the models presented in this thesis:

In Canada we witness conflicts between the Canadian state, aboriginal peoples and the province of Quebec. These conflicts are captured by model #2, and can be analyzed by using the concept of home.

I would like to start with the Aboriginal quest because as Asch (1994) argues, the matter of control over underlying title is a matter that is not only in dispute between First Nations and Canada, but lies at the heart of many ethnonational disputes within states. The resolution of this issue may have implications for other places. For it seems that violence is not an internal or inherent property of some groups who are involved in armed struggle, but that the conflict is a result of the continued commitment to a territorial base concept of home.

According to Asch (1994), comparative evidence indicates that many First Nations and Canada define the root of underlying title differently, that there is strong contention regarding which party now possesses legitimate title. There is also dissonance in the way each party sees its relationship with the other. These differences lie at the heart of differing interpretations of the treaty relationship.

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[14] . The author Leo Perotz told a friend that on a visit to Tunisia he entered a busy Cafe. There, in the midst of the smoke and noise of the domino stones was the grave of the previous owner.

Fieldwork and literature (Erasmus and Sanders,1992; Lamothe,1993; Smith,1993) indicate, that generally First Nations describe the legitimacy of their underlying title as being a gift from the Creator. However, in their view the Creator placed what might be called "an encumbrance" on the gift which requires that the gifted territory be shared with other species, with future generations and with other people who may need to use it. Many First Nations model their relationship with Canada on the basis of this concept of the gift. Hence, in their assertion of legitimate title, the challenge is not to demonstrate that they have possession to the exclusion of all others, but rather to develop good political relations with others who need to use the land rather than horde it for themselves. Thus, as Leroy Little Bear states (1986:247):

> The Indian concept of land ownership is certainly not inconsistent with the idea of sharing with an alien people. Once the Indians recognized them as human beings, they gladly shared with them. They shared with Europeans in the same way they shared with the animals and other people. However, sharing here cannot be interpreted as meaning the Europeans got the same rights as any other native person, because the Europeans were not descendants of the original grantees, or they were not parties ot the original social contract. Also, sharing certainly cannot be interpreted as meaning that one is giving up rights for all eternity.

By contrast, Canada presumes that the legitimate acquisition of underlying title to all the lands within the country (including those of indigenous people) as well as jurisdiction over all the people derives from the unilateral assertion of sovereignty by the Crown of Great Britain at the onset of colonial expansion.

The interesting question that Asch poses is whether it might be useful to communicate the concept of "underlying title" as it has been developed by First Nations as a way to re-conceptualize the basis for relations between ethnonational communities in other places[15].

For a long time, Quebeckers have been experiencing some turbulence in the outer cycle of model #2. Non-belonging, or feelings of alienation on the cultural and national level 'informs' the inner cycles 'there is something to be desired in terms of home'- 'this is not an ideal home'. It is clear that Quebeckers, who might be content with their 'little' home, wish to re-invent and instill new meanings in their Big Home[16].

Important topics for possible research regarding Quebec and Canada as a whole are:

1. How do people who belong to other ethnic groups inside Quebec (other than Quebeckers) think of home at present?[17] How do French Canadians outside Quebec define home?

2. How will the concept change for these minorities in the event of Quebec separation?

D. In addition to studying the "hostage groups", French Canadians outside Quebec and English Canadians within Quebec, one can study Chilean refugees and other refugees from

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[15]. Asch clarifies that one cannot merely transplant an idea from one cultural context to another. At the same time, he argues, the development of novel ways of thinking may be of value in helping people to re-conceptualize problems. For example, the American "Founding Fathers" used certain concepts about governance which they learned from the Iroquois Confederacy in the development of the federal system of government in the United States of America (Grinde, 1992).

[16]. Former Prime Minister Trudeau used the home metaphor when he introduced the policy of bilingualism. He wanted to make Canada home for all Canadians, including Quebeckers outside Quebec.

[17]. See for example M. Richler recent book "This Year in Jerusalem" (Richler, 1994). Where is Richler's home? The Quebec township where he resides? Quebec? Canada? Israel?

South American countries who can now "go back home". One can also study Ukrainians immigrants, whose country has gained independence, and immigrants from the former Yugoslavia. Another interesting issue is the relative importance of a specific place to various religious groups such as the Mormons, the Mennonites, and the Quakers.

E. Are there significant differences between Canadians and Americans regarding the concept of home? If yes, what is the nature of the differences, and how are they related to the nature of immigration policies (multiculturalism vs. 'melting pot')[18].

F. What does the concept of home mean to people who were colonized, (Native people in Canada, Maoris in New Zealand, etc).

G. During the last week of June 1991, Croatia and Slovenia declared independence from the state of Yugoslavia. Only some months earlier, the three Baltic republics had set in motion a similar process to break away from the USSR, and by the last week of August, the majority of Soviet republics had decided to secede. As Saram (1993) notes, political entities of such differing complexity as the Philippines, China, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Iraq, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Northern Ireland and recently Chechnya also contain separatist movements of varying significance and intensity. On the other hand we witness a strong movement toward globalization. Will the French (or any other member of the EEC) perception of 'Home' change as a result of this strong tendency? And will the British perception of 'home' shift as a result of the new Eurochannel?

H. In Israel, the notion of home is instilled with new meaning for some people and groups. Settlers in the Golan Heights, the Jordan Valley and the West Bank might have to evacuate their homes and resettle as a result of the peace process between Israel, the neighboring states and the Palestinians. They, in fact, might qualify in a way as "anticipatory immigrants". What is their current sense of home?

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[18]. In order to include more groups and for better generalizability, a survey will have to be developed.

As a result of the peace agreement between Israel and Jordan, settlers in the Arava (south of the Dead Sea) now have to lease their lands, previously owned by Israel, from the Jordanian state. It would be interesting to find out if and how their concept of home changed as a result of the shift in legal ownership of the land.

It should also be noted that the demographic composition of the settlers in the Golan Heights and the Jordan Valley differs sharply from the settlers in the West Bank. The former are secular settlers, who love their homes, but have no messianic or religious attachment to their place of residence. In sharp contrast, most of the settlers in the West Bank are there because they believe this is their ancient HOME. This important difference will probably manifest itself clearly when the time arrives for the settlers to go[19].

Of course, the issue of home is now, more than ever, important, relevant and topical for the Palestinian people. Their whole notion of home is shifting. Does a Palestinian in the newly 'free' Gaza or Jericho feel this is home, or is home still somewhere else?

In the end, home remains a crucible[20]. I met a man who is married, has children, job, house and a dog. He claims he does not have a home and mourns it every day. I met someone who has none of the above and feels at home without it. I met people who have a home, but do not want to live in it and people who insist they have a home, but were not welcome there. Because home is a complex construct and because it depends so much on individual interpretation, the same situation can be perceived as "ideal immobility" or a rut. "I'mnot a Canadian, but I feel I fit here. I am comfortable enough, I am challenged enough and I get what I deserve", my wife says.

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[19]. Some Israelis have already paid the price of peace: the Sinai settlers, who had to evacuate their home in the early 80's as a result of the peace agreement between Israel and Egypt. I know of no research which tried to examine their experience in terms of the concept of home.

[20]. A crucible is (Oxford Dictionary):
A. A non-reactive vessel in which metamorphic changes take place; B. Melting pot for metals; C. Severe test.

Home is the meeting of Heaven and Earth. Of this world and the next. It is the overlap of our mundane banalities and our immortalizing aspirations. Only a small part of belonging was investigated in this study. We want to pinpoint, to put words on paper, in order to first understand them and later to control them. But home remains a mystery; vast as the universe or specific as our mother's eyes, a feeling- sense rather than something to be accurately described.

What we do know is that this concept of home is a powerful one. Many immigrants are torn apart by their needing and wanting to be in two places at once. I would submit that this is psychologically (although not geographically) possible. However, I recognize that many of our cultures, religions and societies conspire to convince us that this cannot be- that we live in a world of dualities: either\or; better\worse; stubbornness\surrender; win\lose. Further research may indeed formulate a new way of looking at this stalemate between immigrant and host country- a way out of the current mind-set which offers no better solution than that of settling for a "partial home".

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APPENDIX #1- REVIEW OF IMMIGRATION APPROACHES

DESOCIALIZATION- RESOCIALIZATION APPROACH

Eisenstadt's classical work (1954) is still widely used to approach the complex problem of migration. In his view, the psychological aspects of immigrants' integration must be understood within the concrete situations of absorption. Eisenstadt defines migration as the "physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another (p.1). He distinguishes three main stages in the migratory process: 1. The motivation for migration. 2. The migratory process itself and 3. absorption into the new society.

The decision to migrate includes the 'push' factors in the sending society, the 'pull' factors of the receiving society, and the personal motives, expectations and attitudes of migrants (Margulis,1974). Eisenstadt considers immigrants' basic feelings of frustration and inadequacy in the original society as the underlying motive for migration. Those feelings, however, are usually attached only to some spheres of life in the old society and they will, therefore, partially determine the individual's expectations to be fulfilled in the new society. He\she can expect, for instance, only to attain some economic goals and may not be willing to make any change in other aspects of his\her way of life, such as family relations. However,in Eisenstadt's view,the migratory process and absorption into the new society always involve some degree of desocialization and resocialization. The proposed indicators of full absorption are 1. Acculturation: learning and internalization of the new patterns of behavior; 2. personal adjustment; 3. institutional dispersion: immigrants are full participants in different spheres of social, political and economic life and have no separate identity. The whole process involves gradual identification with ultimate values and symbols, feelings of belonging to and active participation in the host society.

ALIENATION-ASSIMILATION APPROACH

Folloing the general guidelines of Eisenstadt, the alienation-assimilation approach represents an attempt to reconceptualize the desocialization process in terms of alienation. M.L. Kovacs and A.J. Cropley (1975) present this point of view by arguing that the psychology of immigration has to include the recognition of the role of alienation. They deal extensively with the case of immigrants belonging to the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in Australia. In the authors' view, "at the very time immigrants are being assimilated in the new society, they are experiencing alienation from the ways of their former homeland. Immigrants can also be in a state of marginality, alienated from both old and new cultures. The authors regard alienation as a sense of loneliness, meaninglessness, powerlessness and fragmentation stemming from detachment of some supportive relationship, specifically that which comes from the community. Communal relationships give a sense of cohesiveness, meaning and purpose to life ('dignity'). Inversely, a sense of belonging or solidarity with a group and the sense of relative control of one's own life tend to reduce alienation. I discuss this issue of marginality further in the section regarding Israeli immigration.

SATISFACTION-IDENTIFICATION APPROACH

A. Richardson (1967) developed a model for the psychological study of assimilation. (Focused mainly on the study of British immigrants in Australia). Three stages are described in the process of assimilation: satisfaction, identification, and acculturation. For Richardson, changes in satisfaction levels (following an elation-depression pattern) are more frequently observed during the first two years, showing a tendency to stabilize in the following years.

Establishment and satisfaction in economic, occupational, residential, and social aspects of life are considered as necessary, but not always sufficient conditions for the development of a sense of attachment to the host country. However, for the adult British immigrant in Australia with four or five years of residence, a change is commonly observed in the original national identity- he\she tends to feel "more Australian than British".

The provisional conclusion drawn from this study is that a certain measurable level of satisfaction is the necessary prerequisite for a certain measurable level of identification which, in turn, is a condition for a certain measurable level of acculturation.

APPENDIX#2- INTERVIEWING GUIDELINES

The following questions and themes were used as guidelines. They were aimed at getting as many details as possible about the interviewee's life. The questions and emphasis were modified for each individual interview.

General information: age, profession, family, length of stay.
1. Country of origin:
- Childhood
- Growing up
- Family
- Detailed description of where he\ she grew up
- Are your parents alive
- What was your first memory of being conscious of your "Israeli ness\ Japaneseness".
- What do you miss about the country you left

2. Moving to Canada:
- The decision to move
- The process of moving
- First impressions
- The process of "acclimatization"
- How do you feel about Canada

3. Life in Canada
- Level of satisfaction with life in Canada
- Do you ever think of going back to your country of origin
- Are there disagreements in your household about where you are going to live in ten\ twenty years.
- What makes you a Canadian (to what do you feel connected here).
- How do you feel about expatriates from your country of origin

4. Home
- Where do you feel at home- detailed description
- When do you feel at home- detailed description
- Where is your true home- detailed description
- Do you feel at home in Canada; if so, can you describe an occasion or an event when you first felt that way
- Are there other places other than Canada where you feel at home
- Do you often think of your country of origin, and on which occasions
- Describe your homesickness

- When (if) you go back to where you grew up (or other places you used to call home) what do you do. Describe in detail such a visit.
- Which part of the house did you like the best when you were a child, and which part do you feel most connected now
- Are your past home(s) present in any way here, in where you live now (pictures, heirlooms, books etc). Please tell me about their significance

5. General
- What do you consider yourself to be (in terms of national identity), why, and how does it manifest itself
- If you had to divide your life to meaningful periods- what would they be. Do you see those periods connected to each other and how.
- Is there a period in your life you miss, why
- What was the most important thing you had to give up by moving
- What was the most important thing you gained by moving
- Is it important for you that your children grow up as Japanese\ Israelis\ others? What would that mean?
- Have you ever thought about where you want to be buried?

APPENDIX #3- AN INTERVIEW WITH MOIRA

The moment for me in the present is that I am preoccupied with finding a place that I can call home, sometimes is it more of a sense of keeping connected to a homeplace that I have experienced in the past, sometimes it is an external switch, like a particular person I live with or a particular house, or a particular lifestyle, and sometimes it is not separate from trying to live in a certain way with myself or to live with a certain feeling, because I guess for me home is related to a certain inner feeling, so it is about being connected to myself, so when I feel at home i feel content, I feel peaceful, I feel I like myself, I can express myself and be who I am, so it is a sense of living with myself in a safe and secure and comfortable way, and it is very much an inner feeling, that sometime I have and then I lose it and then I have it again and then I lose it, I: when did this feeling occur, when did you have it, just describe different instances in your life when you had it

H: well, I had it a lot when I was a rajnishee and meditating and dancing, and had an inspired connection with a sense of community, and I feel it sometime when I am sitting down with a client, and I am really absorbed and I am working, and I feel it when I am out in the bush, I feel it a lot by the sea, so that the sea elicits that feeling inside me, probably more than any other kind of geography, or environment, but it is not just tied to a certain physical place, I feel it, I felt it most recently when I did the chi kung course, through ti chi, so I feel it very strongly when I am sitting in empty pretty ugly room in a state of meditation, and then there is the sense of, there is a sense of peace, and being where I want to be, like it is really related to not wanting to be somewhere else, when I don't feel at home inside, I have a yearning to be somewhere else, a feeling of dissatisfaction, so for me a sense of home is a feeling of ha....I like it here, just feel good, just feels right, I have no desire to be anywhere else,

I: how long can it last?

H: I don't think it lasts forever, unless you are enlightened or something, when I was sailing I had it often, in the period of 9 months I had it frequently, when I was a sanyassin, and I was doing a lot of meditating, a lot of dancing, that kind of stuff, for two yrs, I had it often, like sometimes every day, for days on end, but then if I lost it during those times, it was easier to move back to that space, so I don't think that it is realistic for me to expect to live in that space forever, but I think it is important for me to know what takes me away from home, and what brings me back to home, to a feeling of home,

I: so there is the structure and the feeling of home, and what you are talking about is mainly the feeling of home. what are the relationship between the two for you, is the feeling of home completely unrelated to new zealand, or canada,

h: well, yes and no, I think that a structural home, or a place on the planet, can elicit a certain internal feeling of home, like there are places on the planet where I know I will have a hard time feeling this internal feeling of home, places like w.e.m.or places that maybe overcrowded, really busy, really noisy, those kinds of things, so I think in that physical environment it will be much harder to have this internal sense of home, I mean I feel a real split between new zealand on the one hand and canada on the one hand, but I see it as being really related to what gives me a certain internal feeling and what interferes with a certain internal feeling, and you know, until recently, until fairly recently, I was kind of happy just being in canada, and I never thought much about a permanent sense of home, in a physical way, I thought a lot about it in internal sense of home, but in order to wanting to create a home, a place on the planet that was more permanent, where I would like to live for many years,

I: what happened, when did you start thinking about that?

H; (a very long silence): well, it involves a lot of the past,,, I don;t even know if I can put it in words,,,it is like a sense of wanting to stop,,,inside, a sense of...having a place where I don't have to look further, having a place where I can rest, a place to be, and I think that's developmentally related, because it's like, when I left new zealand to come to canada, I was interested in exploring, I was interested in expanding my boundaries, or my limits, or what I had experienced so far, (she was 21 at the time), and I came because at that time, I had a decision to make, most of my friends were deciding (just starting??) to live on the beach and have babies, and stay; in new zealand, and they were choosing a lifestyle that looked kind of appealing, but I knew that I hadn't seen a whole bunch of the other options, and so I left partly because I wanted to explore, I wasn't ready to sit in one place at that time, so then I had like many years of looking at different places, exploring in terms of relationship, exploring in terms of lifestyle, so exploring in terms of a lots of possible choices, and now in a way I feel like well I have sampled lots of different possibilities, I kind of know what a lot of the choices are, and I feel it is the time just to settle on one, it's not a time so much to go like this (expand), exploring, discovering, expanding, it's much more of a time just to say o.k. I have done all of the research, all the exploring, this is what's important to me, now I decide to do this, which is to be in some way connected to nature, to have a really simple life style, and to have the kind of lifestyle where I could meditate regularly, so it might sound like an isolated bunch of things that connects me with an internal sense of home, and so I want to sit on one place on the planet, and gather those things around me, so the focus is not so much looking outside, but it is more o.k. now I want to connect with the feeling inside, and I want my outside to foster that, so I want to be in a place that is either by the sea, where I will have access to nature, has trees around it, not in the big city, and a lifestyle where I can work part time, and I want...because I don;t think a physical place is sufficient to maintain that internal sense of home, I want to be able to meditate or to do some kind of spiritual discipline, so a lot of my back and forth between n.z. and canada is about o.k, which place would support that internal feeling of home, most strongly, and that is a really hard question to answer, because some of that internal feeling gets supported by community, and n.z. provides a certain sense of community, that canada doesn't provide, and canada provides a certain sense of community that n.z. doesn't provide, my biological family is in n.z. and there is a certain, I don't know, certain cultural attitudes and ways of being, that I grew up with and on some level feel like home, it feels more familiar

I: You know, to me it sounds almost like imprinting or something. I have met people who grew up by the sea and all they want to do is go back and live by a sea

H: ye, I think this is true, it's like on a cellular level, my cells respond really differently to how n.z. feels as opposed to how canada feels, what I can describe is my response, to when i land in Auckland, and I get off the plane, and I have the response that is, well it's emotional, I mean usually I burst into tears, and there is this sense inside of return, of something settling, of ah,, I am back, like there is this familiarity, like the smells are different, the air is different, the colours are different, the sky is different, and I always forget how different it is, so it's like the whole, every sense every single sense gets an input, a sensation, that is slightly different, and this is the smells and sensations that I experienced since the day I was born, so it has got to be in the cells, it has got to be in us, in a really tangible physical way, because it is so sensory, I don't have the same feeling here, I don;t have the same feeling here, unless I am really open, unless I have been doing tons of meditating, and, I don';t know, like my cells open, then I can get the same feeling, that the trees and the mountains, and the lake and the stream, I can get the same feeling, but it is not as available, it requires me to be in an open state, before I have the same kind of being able to feel the landscape in my bones, in my body, so in many ways here I have to initiate the state, and then I can interact with my environment here in that way, it will come in to my being in that way, whereas in n.z. I am sure I can be in the most grumpiest the most closed mood and I would get off the plane and I would just, I mean in my first breath, something in me would melt, and I would feel the earth, I mean I would just really feel these islands, because there is something, to me, so unique about those islands that I have never felt this kind of interaction, this kind of bodily response anywhere else, except in the Azores, in the little islands out the coast of Portugal, and that was also after an absence, I have been to sea for 30 days and I haven't seen land, and so I arrive in this incredibly green island and it was like coming out of the womb, it was so beautiful, and that's the kind of feeling I have when i step into n.z. it's like I have been in the desert, I have been absent, I have been away from something, and so it is coming back to a source, something that nourishes, something that excites, something that like plays through my whole body, so I have to ask the question, well, does that stay when I am there all the time, of the land interacting with my body continues, or do I just have it because I have had absence from it, but it does continue, I always felt that when I lived there, and the last time I was there from 3 months, I have that sense of I love to be on an island, I love to be on that part of the planet and I could feel it, I don;t know if it is a certain vibration, or just a certain part of the planet that speaks to me, some human beings I like to connect with and some human beings I have no connection with, so what is that, except a certain rhythm, certain vibration, a certain something, and, I don't think it is necessarily true for everyone, but when I think of my childhood the land and the sea and the air and the smells were very much a kind of a safe womb for me when I was a little kid, because I spent a lot of time outside, and I spent a lot of time outside in a very safe and very secure ways, so I really felt the land was my friend, I felt I was free to explore it and to interact with it, and be in it, there was no danger out there, and the other way in which I think... and I think home is really connected to safety and security, for me it's like the safe harbour or something, and for me to be in n.z. and to be sexually abused by relatives and being traumatized and hurt, the place that I would always escape to was always the sea, or the beach, or the land in some way, and I would go and lie on the sand and for me it was a sensation of being held, of being cradled by the planet, and it was, it was home, home was not in my house, with my family, because I didn't feel safe there, I didn't feel I could be myself there, home was very much the earth and the sea and the landscape, but I think for other people, home could definitely be a particular house, or a particular group of people, a particular family, it wasn't so much for me, because I felt that in many ways I was abandoned by my family, I didn't feel that they were trustworthy, that they provided safety, where I could be myself with them, but I felt that with the sea, and also with cats, with animals, that they were trustworthy, that they were safe, they will not hurt me or betray me , and that I could be myself, so often I would literally disappear, to the sea, and I would lie on the beach, or in the sand dunes, and no one will be around, and I would have a very strong sense of being cradled, being embraced, being comforted by the land, by the sea, by the sand, and so I think because of the associations between home and safety and security that the sea and that part of the planet always gonna be important to me, that little kid space, that little kid that was hurt knew where home was, knew where safety was, and it wasn't in her house, with her family, so I think of home as the land, I don;t think of it as the house I grew up in, I think of it as particular beaches, particular rise, particular shape of the land, n.z. has a lot of baths and then a lot of headlands with lots of bush on them, so in a way it is, ye, a particular shape, and feeling of the earth, a particular smell, particular sound of the wind, the direction of the wind, the way the sky would look, the southern sky is really different from the northern sky, the way the trees grow and the way they are shaped by the wind, all those little physical details,

here, in order to get this feeling I have to be more open, go more into myself, (focus), and in some ways I think I learned, and I feel to love the land here, to love the bush here, but I didn't at first, it was just a piece of land, it didn't have particular meaning, or a particular pull on my heart, but over the last few years, i have had some really nice times in the bush here, in some isolated parts of the country side, and I like the land a lot here, so I am more open to it then I was, I enjoy it a lot, and it can foster this internal feeling of home, but it is not as nearly as strong as n.z. and the sea, is for me

I: are you a canadian?

h: am I a canadian citizen? yes I am

I: yes, but are you a canadian?

H: (laughing): I don';t feel as a canadian, but I feel more as a canadian then the first few years I was here, when I came here, I would sit on a sit reading a book minding my own business, and people would come after me and ask where are you from, now I had no sense of looking different, I hadn't open my mouth, but there was obviously a different feel, and that happened a lot the first year I was here, less the second, and then it just stopped happening, people never come up to me now and ask where are you from, so that says a lot to me about the fact that something has changed, to other people, inside, inside I don't feel like a canadian, but I don't feel like a new zealander, I am somewhere in between, when I go back to n.z. because my accent is different, people would say to me are you enjoying our country, are you having a nice holiday, where do you live in America, so when I am back, from the people again, I get a sense of alienation, a sense of you are not one of ours, they respond to me now like I am a visitor, and it's a funny thing in n.z because if you leave the country there's a way in which you get judged for doing that, because most new zealanders think n.z. is the most wonderful place to be in the whole wide world, and so there is a real sense of betrayal about how wonderful n.z. is if you go overseas, you stay overseas and you decide not to return, it's like, this is god's country, the most wonderful place in the world, there is less crime, there is less pollution, it's the most beautiful, why would you want to live anywhere else, there is no stigma, there is rejection, but it is very subtle, people would say things like, oh, you sound like those americans, or, I don't understand what you are talking about, it's just snide and really sarcastic and it comes in sideways, there is usually a judgement that I am stuck up now, I am too big for my boots, I think I am better than they are, because I have left, people would say she is an expat, and that is a loaded word, but we don't have a term for people who leave,

so when I am in n.z. now, although I have that connection to the land, I feel out of place, because people

respond to me as if I am out of place, I am different, I don;t belong any longer, and that makes new zealanders cautious and insecure, and so they are a bit like this (defensive), when I am in canada now, I don;t get that, I get kind of acceptance, you are one of us, and a sense from other people who live here of belonging, of acceptance, not that same sense of caution, but in terms of my internal world, I never say I am canadian, I often say I am a new zealander, and I am neither in the way that certainly being in new zealand meant to me, but I feel I am some kind of a weird hybrid, I am both, I am both in the sense of purple, which is red and blue, but it's purple, so there is the sense of o.k. I am sort of canadian and I am sort of new zealander but I am not blue, I am not red, I am purple, another colour that comes out of the combination of the two, so I would never say I am blue, I am canadian, because inside it feels totally inaccurate, I am more likely to say I am red, I am a new zealander, but I am most likely to say, to feel inside I am purple, I am some kind of mixture of both,
I: this is interesting because some people say I don;t know what I am any more, I am not blue and I am not red, but you say I am both
H: right
I: so where is home in all this
h: it's in purple, I mean truly, I think it's in purple, but you can't blend the n.z and canada physically so it has to be blended in terms of inner state or inner peace, and I guess that this is what I am trying to do right now, to keep a certain mix of red and blue, how to keep some connection to n.z. because it is really important to me, the connection with the land,
I: did you ever think of going back to n.z?
H: oh ye, when I came here, the only way I could come was to time limit it, and to say I'll be back in two yrs, it was the only way it was acceptable to myself, was to time limit it, but it was partly for my friends as well, because even then people didn't support someone going overseas, the rest of the world was seen as bad, ugly, evil, irrelevant so even when I left there wasn't a lot of support,
I: that is the sub official new zealand ideology?
H: ye, oh ye, you know how it is about new zealanders, and about new zealand, is that they think there is nothing wrong with the place and nothing wrong with them,
I: so there is a feeling of us against them, or us as not them?
H: not so much against, but definitely separate, and a will to keep out foreign and tainting influence, wanting to keep something pure,
I: so you felt the need to apologize
H: when I left, sure, absolutely, and I still feel that when I go home (home!), I feel defensive that I don't sound like new zealanders, and I feel defensive that, I don;t know, that I have a ph.d. and I am a psychologist and I have a private practice and I don't get incredibly upset about crime and certain things here, I get defensive about my lifestyle here, when I am in new zealand,
I: do you feel more alive when you are in n.z?
H: yes and no, the part that is the yes is that I feel way more alive physically and on a sensory sensual level, because the culture is physical and the activities I am used to do revolve around water, and because the smells are so different, everyone has an incredible gardens, and there are beautiful smells, all years round, and you don;t get just exhaust for 8 months of the year, I feel much more alive this way, and for me there is a lot more access to the outdoors, I walk more, new zealanders live outside, always gardening, and swimming and wind surfing, that kind of thing, and around people, in terms of interaction I feel more alive, and around my family I feel less alive because I feel all the patterns and the restrictions of being a kid, and so sometimes this is still strong, and I can't totally ignore them, and I feel that sense of being responded to as a foreigner, like that's awkward at times, it makes me mad, it makes me angry, sometimes, I mean I get defensive, I guess because I want my connection to the place acknowledged, and it is not acknowledged, it is you are visiting my home, it has nothing to do with your home, so sometime there is for me a sense of contraction around that, a sense of defensiveness, and as soon as I contract I am less alive,
I: so there is the power to determine which home is this
H: ye, people don't do it consciously, they will do it by saying are you having a nice visit, or where are you from the states, or something like that, ye,
I: do you ever feel jealous of people who never left?

H: sometimes, ye, very, ye, because there are a lot of new zealanders who don't want anything else, who truly don't want to be anywhere else, who are truly not interested in seeing other parts of the world, they are really content with where they are, and they are content with their lot, and they are happy to be there, and so they have their little place, their little physical home, like solidly carved out, and they are settled well and truly into it, like a big old comfortable arm chair, and no one is going to kick them out of it, and they are not a bit interested, I mean they are not looking over someone else's armchair and thinking gee, I would rather live there, they are like comfortably settled into their armchair, and thinking this armchair is great, I am really glad I am in this armchair, and that's where I am jealous, because I feel that you know I set in thirty different armchairs, and I like some of them, I like the colour of this one and the shape of that one, and how my feet sit on the floor on this one, and so there are lots of pros and cons and so I know that no armchair is perfect, I don't have such an illusion of wow, this is great, so that's where sometimes I feel jealous,
I: how do you explain that content, I mean most of the people want to go to the states
H: many new zealanders decided to hate america, america is seen as the enemy, I mean they do watch t.v. and many new zealanders, tons of them travel, but most of them return home and say I am glad to be back in new zealand, and many others, like many of the people I went to university with have never left, and probably never will leave, and these people hold the attitude, and these people are lawyers and doctors, I mean they are well educated, they hold the attitude that n.z. offers exactly what they want, and they have no desire to leave, and I don't know, but there is some truth to that because they are interested in living in a place where they have access to nature, and there is not a lot of pollution and not a lot of crime, like these are the important values to those people, and they have it there
I: they don't want to "make it" somewhere else?
H: no, no, I remember reading somewhere that new zealanders really underestimate the impact of the polynesian culture, (Israel-the culture of the warrior, you fight and then you are supposed to stay, while the urge is to go, also- the restrictions of the army), on new zealand culture, and I mean the Maori, the polynesian culture is very laid back, it's not aggressive, it's not striving in terms of making tons of money, or being famous, it is very much in terms of connection to earth, and really laid back, and maybe that's true, I don';t know, see, I guess i think that if i was able to find a way to cultivate a pretty strong and pretty continuous sense of internal home, when I was meditating or whatever, then it would be less relevant to me where I lived on the planet, because I can have a sense of safety, a sense of peace a sense of home in more places, but if I am not taking responsibility myself, for nourishing an internal sense of home, then it becomes more important to me where I live on the planet and I want to live some place like new zealand, or some place by the sea, that creates, that enhances some sense of home, so I give more responsibility to the environment, to the physical landscape, but I guess I believe that because I have had this experience that I can hold major responsibility for staying connected to an internal sense of home, if I am not lazy enough, I am not working too hard and if I am not distracted by million other things, but if I am doing what I know takes me to this feeling of inner home, then it is less relevant what my physical environment and surroundings are, it is less relevant where I live, that's what I believe, but I am lazy and I would like the planet to help me enhance my sense of home, so it is partly why I have a yearning to be by the sea, or to be in new zealand, because it just helps, but I can also have that sense of home, that sense of aliveness, and that sense of safety and that sense of excitement here, if I'm doing certain things,
I: so you think you could have it in Toronto?
H: I don't know if I could, but if someone was really good in creating and maintaining this internal state then they could
I: so it involves dissociating yourself from the environment, like supplying your own needs
H: I don't think so, I think it is learning to maintain a connection to a center so that if the environment is non supportive of that, or if the environment is, even if the environment is at odds with that then I think it is possible to maintain that connection, that is if you are good at it, I am not that good, but I don't think it is divorcing oneself from the environment it is managing to stay connected, it is like a hurricane or a tornado, the eye, the center is totally still, even when around there is chaos (and it is also moving), but there is no wind there, there is no chaos or turmoil there, but there is chaos and turmoil and distraction all around, and so I think on a theoretical and ideal level I think someone can maintain that eye which is that connection with

home, even if they are in the middle of Toronto or Mexico city, or somewhere that is very chaotic, I would find that difficult, because I haven't nourished that connection with home, that is strong enough to withstand that, it is not blocking yourself to the environment, it is more like, I don't know, like a willow, so you don't block yourself, you don't brace yourself against it, but you know how willows are really bendy, and it's really flexible, so it moves, it's like tai chi as opposed to boxing, so the willow is really rooted in the ground, and it is very much unbreakable, and it doesn't brace itself, against a wind or against something else that comes to move it, it kind of bends and it is flexible, and it sways, but it keeps a connection to ground, it keeps rootedness and it keeps a center, that place is center, even though it is fluid and flexible all around that, so I don't think it's a blocking,

I: ye, well, Israelis are boxers, they fight, and I realize that finding a home is surrendering to a place, which Israelis find very hard to relate to, because surrendering is the most un israeli thing to do

H: yes, like it tai chi when someone comes to you with a force, you don't meet it with equal and opposing force, but you join the movement, you join the direction, you support the movement and you pull your OPPONENT off his center, off his balance, so you don't go against anything, you very much surrender,

I: you think that women find it easier to do then man?

H: ye, I think that's totally true, because women are more receptive by nature, and I think connecting to a sense of home, whether external or internal requires certain receptiveness, like you have to let something in, that's why I say that I am beginning to like canada's wilderness, because I am starting to let that in, you know i let it start to move me, like the willow, and it doesn't move me the way new zealand moves me or the sea does, but it is starting to move me, and I just think women are better at that, then men,

I: the place where you live now, in Edmonton, is that your home?

H: ye, on one level, that place feels like a center and when I walk into it (until a week ago), I definitely have a sense of coming home, and coming to a place that is a sanctuary for me, a place that is safe, a place that supports me just being myself, and expressing myself however I want, and a place that nourishes me, and a place in which I can hide from the demands of the world, a sanctuary

I: if you had two years, where would you live them

H: well, I would definitely live a lot of them by the sea, and I would definitely live some of them in n.z. yes, because I feel that in terms of my purple, in terms of my inner balance, the n.z. component is down, it needs to be upped a bit, so ye, I would live a large chunk of the time in n.z. or what else i would do is get on a yacht and sail from here, across the pacific to n.z. ye

I: is it important for you where you are going to be buried? have you ever thought of that?

H: ye, I thought about that a lot, and I always wanted to be thrown into the sea, I am not sure I want to do that any longer, I think I would like to be burnt and have my ashes been thrown to the pacific, I would like someone to be standing on the ground (in n.z) and to throw them into the pacific, or the tasman sea, off a peninsula or a high cliff,

I: if there are two of you, one in canada and one in n.z, which one do you feel better with?

H: at the moment it is really equal, I feel happier with the work heather in canada, I feel happier with work and with some social friendships, contacts. In n.z. I feel happier with leisure activities and the place, so it's pretty even, it's really even

I: I am trying to better understand what belonging is, can you help me with that?

H: I see it on many different levels, I know that I CANNOT have a sense of belonging to a country, or a community or a family if I am not connected to myself, I mean I have experienced a sense of isolation inside, even though it looked on the outside like I belonged, and there is a really interesting research coming on the psychological development of girls, and how around adolescence they start to develop two personalities, and their true self will start to go underground, because they learn that they are not accepted if they express themselves the way they expressed themselves around 8 or 9, and in a way they start to lose a sense of belonging, they act as if they belong, but because their truth, or because they have to hide a large chunk of themselves, in order to be accepted, in order to stay in connection, it's a false kind of connection (end of tape, some sentences were not recorded).

I:(we were talking about commitment, we were talking about the fact that most of your work is bringing back the soul, so it won't be a divided home),
H: you can never have a sense of home if you are not in your body, and because for a lot of my clients, because they have been traumatized in early stages of life, and with me, because I was sexually abused, I left my body, so my work with my clients is to invite the spirit into the body, because I think the body is the home to the spirit, we cannot have a feeling of home when we are spaced out, so the spirit has to be in the body, and the other thing I said was, and I am talking about a creation of a center, is that many of my clients, they have parts of them that are at war, and so I don't think there can be a sense of a safe home, or a peaceful home when we have parts of self fighting each other, and so a lot of my work is creation of connections, agreements between parts of self that have been only fighting
I: and I was talking about the issue of commitment, because if you are in the present, you can have many homes, but I find that people are always thinking of the future, or the past, they feel that this shouldn't be their home, or, they are never fully here
H: I think it takes a lot of commitment to the self to learn to live in the present, which is the same thing, learning to live in this inner place called home, and when someone knows how to do that, they can be in Bombay and still have that, but you were talking about people saying they are missing out on something, and they shouldn't be here, and somewhere else is better, and when they go there, they want to come here, because here is better, so there is always the sense of division, of being divided, they never always fully accept what they have, and so a sense of home is a sense of unity, there is no being divided and there is no sense of wanting to be somewhere else, whether it is somewhere else in terms of time, past or future, or somewhere else in terms of a place,
I: I think that some people might need to leave home in order to find home and some people need to live with the sense they are going back home
H: there is nothing that says that staying at home is the thing to do, like when you say that I think of a little kid, a little kid needs a sense of security, in order to be able to go exploring, but that sense of home, that sense of security is the base, and if that little kid never had that sense they will never explore, so in a way the more solid that base is the more willing they are to go far away from it, because they can always go back, because it is always there, for them to come back to, and maybe that's the truth for us in terms of physical places and inner states, i think it is true for us in terms of inner states, I know from my experience if i have more solid connection to an inner place that I call home, then I am way more willing to leave home, to experiment, to feel a full range of stuff, if I don't have, and I see it in my clients, if I don't have any connection to an inner center or inner sense of security they are like holding on, they are like rigid, they don't move anywhere very fast, it feels too much, they walk through the world very cautiously and very rigidly and there is no fluidity or freedom to explore on any level, whether it is physical, emotional or spiritual, so maybe when you talk to people with a strong sense of home, there is much more freedom to move away from home, because there is something safe to come back to,
I think when we look for an external home, what we really looking for is an internal feeling, I mean in some level it has nothing to do with the external, the external is important only in relation to how it makes you feel inside, this is the only home that really matters, that is important, you see this is where it gets scary, because if home is only an external place, it can be taken away from us, and if home is an inner place, then no one can take it away from us, we can always carry a sense of home, ideally, but if we make no connection to the inner place, home can be destroyed, it can be taken away from us, someone can say this is not your place any longer, you can't live here, get out, if we cultivate a stronger sense to inner home no one can say get out,
I: I think that home is related to an environment, I mean, home does not necessarily have to be quiet and safe and peaceful, for example when I land in Israel and I feel the first touch of 120% humidity on my face and people are shouting at me, I feel that's home, I feel more alive, I feel excited, but I don';t necessarily like it,
H: I think it has to do with connectedness. For you for example, you live here and you have one line of connection, to your immediate family, and nothing else, in Israel there is you and you have many lines of connection, whether it's the smell, or the way people drive, or the humidity, or the lifestyle or something, but there is more of a web of connections, and here you are talking about having just one thread of connection, and somehow this connection gives you a different sense of self, and here you don't get connection to many

different aspects of yourself because the culture is different, so I don't know, I think about it more in terms of connection, like in n.z, I get a connection to a lot of aspects of myself, it's like they get played, if i am a piano, people play these notes, whereas here, they play different notes, and with you they play maybe only one note here, whereas in Israel you get like a whole symphony and so of course there is more of a sense of aliveness, and I don't know, a validation of self, because you are in this web of connection, and here there is one miserable little thread, and for me it is not as dramatic as that but in n.z. I have very important connections, very important notes that don't get played here, and here I get some notes that won't get played in n.z. it is hard for me to say if there are more in n.z. but in some ways there are probably are, but this is what I am trying to sort out at the moment, I would like to have everything in one place.

By peacefulness I don't necessarily mean dead, I also mean the opposite of being disturbed, or disjointed or whatever, and so there is a sense of peace that comes if I am really alive, and I can be myself, and I can express myself, so you have the sense of peace, not in the sense of tranquility, peace in the sense that it sits with you as opposed to being contrary to who you are, when you are in Israel, racing around the streets, and shouting at people and all of that -there is a MATCHING...

I: but when you are in this place of tranquility and peacefulness, you don't want to leave it, while after a month in Israel, and this is home and you do belong there, you do want to leave, especially when you have a choice, people go to Israel for vacations, but they can't live there, this is why I say people don't always want to live at home, people come here to canada, and they say they found peace of mind, but it is not their home,

H: so this is a culture where those two don't go together. for me as a new zealander those two really go together, because new zealand is very much about peace and tranquility and not getting bothered by your neighbors and hundreds of people, in n.z. it goes together, in Israel it is contradictory, the israeli culture is not conducive to something like that, it stands in opposition...